

A N E C D O T E S

OF THE LIFE OF

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT,
EARL OF CHATHAM,

AND OF

THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF HIS TIME.

WITH

HIS SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT,

FROM THE YEAR 1736 TO THE YEAR 1778.

SIT MIHI FAS AUDITA LOQUI.—VIRGIL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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S P E E C H E S

AND

A N E C D O T E S.

C H A P. XXXV.

Reconciliation between Lord Chatham and Lord Temple—Lord Chatham's Speech on the Address, at the beginning of the Year 1770.

LORD CHATHAM had unceasingly lamented his difference with Lord TEMPLE, from the time it happened; and being now emancipated from the connexions of office; and even from the suspicion of a connexion with the Court, he sought the friendship of his brother, with anxiety and sincerity. On this occasion he made Mr. CALCRAFT his confidant. He confessed to him, that almost every body else had betrayed him—his brother,

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said, had indeed abused him; but it was in the warmth of his temper, and in the openness of his nature, which was superior to all hypocrisy, or concealment of disapprobation. Mr. CALCRAFT approved himself a cordial and assiduous mediator. He accomplished their reconciliation. They had no more differences afterwards. And they were, if possible, more affectionately united than ever they had been. Mr. GRENVILLE perfectly acceded to the union.

Parliament met on the eighth of November. A great part of the session was occupied by the several expulsions of Mr. WILKES, and questions concerning the Middlesex election. Lord CHATHAM did not attend during the session. Rest and retirement he found were the best preservatives against the return of his disorder. But to his friends he declared, in the strongest terms, his thorough detestation of those measures. Petitions from several counties, cities, and large towns, were presented to the King, against them, but without any effect. The dearest rights of the people were sacrificed to personal resentment. The corruption of Parliament is become a grievance of the first magnitude. When the Court can command the Legislature, the Constitution is at an end. The case of the Middlesex election, is an indisputable evidence of this melancholy truth.

1769.

The session closed on the ninth of May, 1769.

The respite which Lord CHATHAM gave himself from all kinds of business, and the happiness he enjoyed, in the reconciliation of his relations, so largely contributed to the restoration of his health, that on the approach of the following session, he found himself able to attend the labours of Parliament.

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The next session was opened on the ninth day of January, 1770. The discontents which pervaded the whole nation, stimulated him to the most vigorous exertion of his talents. He considered the conduct of the House of Commons, on all the questions concerning the Middlesex election, as wholly unconstitutional. He attended on the first day. His speeches on that day, have fortunately met with a better fate than many others of his speeches; for they were accurately taken by a Gentleman of strong memory, now a Member of the House of Commons, and from his notes they are here printed.

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The motion for an Address was made by the Duke of ANCASTER, and seconded by Lord DUNMORE.

Earl of CHATHAM, after some compliment to the Duke of ANCASTER, took notice how happy it would have made him to have been able to concur with the noble Duke in every part of an Address, which was meant as a mark of respect and duty to the Crown---professed personal obligations to the King, and veneration for him; that, though he might differ from the noble Duke in form of expressing his duty to the Crown, he hoped he should give his Majesty a more substantial proof of his attachment than if he agreed with the motion. That at his time of life, and loaded as he was with infirmities, he might, perhaps, have stood excused if he had continued in his retirement, and never taken part again in public affairs. But that the alarming state of the nation called upon him, forced him to come forward once more, and to execute that duty, which he owed to God, to his Sovereign, and to his country; that he was determined to perform it, even at the hazard of his life. That there never was a period which called more forcibly than the present, for the serious attention and consideration of that House; that as they were the grand hereditary counsellors of the Crown, it was particularly their duty at a crisis of such importance and danger, to lay before their Sovereign the true

Lord Chatham's
speech on the
Address.
M.S.

state and condition of his subjects, the discontent which universally prevailed amongst them, the distresses under which they laboured, the injuries they complained of, and the true causes of this unhappy state of affairs.

That he had heard with great concern of the distemper among the cattle, and was very ready to give his approbation to those prudent measures, which the Council had taken for putting a stop to so dreadful a calamity. That he was satisfied there was a power in some degree arbitrary, with which the Constitution trusted the Crown, to be made use of under correction of the Legislature, and at the hazard of the Minister upon any sudden emergency, or unforeseen calamity, which might threaten the welfare of the people, or the safety of the state. That on this principle he had himself advised a measure, which he knew was not strictly legal; but he had recommended it as a measure of necessity, to save a starving people from famine, and had submitted to the judgment of his country.

That he was extremely glad to hear what he owned he did not believe when he came into the House, that the King had reason to expect that his endeavours to secure the peace of this country would be successful, for that certainly a peace was never so necessary as at a time when we were torn to pieces by divisions and distractions in every part of his Majesty's dominions. That he had always considered the late peace, however necessary in the then exhausted condition of this country, as by no means equal in point of advantage, to what we had a right to expect from the successes of the war, and from the still more exhausted condition of our enemies. That having deserted our allies, we were left without alliances, and during a peace of seven years, had been every moment on the verge of a war: that on the contrary, France had attentively cultivated her allies, particularly Spain, by every mark of cordiality and respect. That if a war was unavoidable, we must enter into it without a single ally, while the whole House of Bourbon was united within itself, and supported by the closest connexions with the principal powers in Europe. That the situation of our foreign affairs was undoubtedly a matter of moment, and highly worthy their Lordships consideration; but that he declared with grief, there were other

other matters still more important and more urgently demanding their attention. He meant the distractions and divisions which prevailed in every part of the empire. He lamented the unhappy measure which had divided the Colonies from the mother country, and which he feared had drawn them into excesses which he could not justify. He owned his natural partiality to America, and was inclined to make allowance even for those excesses. That they ought to be treated with tenderness; for in his sense they were ebullitions of liberty, which broke out upon the skin, and were a sign, if not of perfect health, at least of a vigorous constitution, and must not be driven in too suddenly, lest they should strike to the heart. He professed himself entirely ignorant of the present state of America, therefore should be cautious of giving any opinion of the measures fit to be pursued with respect to that country. That it was a maxim he had observed thro' life, when he had lost way, to stop short, lest by proceeding without knowledge, and advancing (as he feared a noble Duke had done) from one false step to another, he should wind himself into an inextricable labyrinth, and never be able to recover the right road again. That as the House had yet no materials before them; by which they might judge of the proceedings of the Colonies, he strongly objected to their passing that heavy censure upon them, which was conveyed in the word *unwarrantable*, contained in the proposed address. That it was passing a sentence without hearing the cause, or being acquainted with facts, and might expose the proceedings of the House to be received abroad with indifference or disrespect. That if *unwarrantable* meant any thing it must mean illegal, and how could their Lordships decide that proceedings, which had not been stated to them in any shape, were contrary to law. That what he had heard of the combinations in America, and of their success in supplying themselves with goods of their own manufacture, had indeed alarmed him much for the commercial interests of the mother country; but he could not conceive in what sense they could be called illegal, much less how a declaration of that House could remove the evil. That they were *dangerous* indeed, and he greatly wished to have that word substituted for *unwarrantable*. That we must look for other remedies. That the discontent

of

of two millions of people deserved consideration ; and the foundation of it ought to be removed. That this was the true way of putting a stop to combinations and manufactures in that country ; but that he reserved himself to give his opinion more particularly upon this subject, when authentic information of the state of America should be laid before the House ; declaring only for the present, that we should be cautious how we invaded the liberties of any part of our fellow subjects, however remote in situation, or unable to make resistance. That liberty was a plant that deserved to be cherished ; that he loved the tree, and wished well to every branch of it. That like the vine in the scripture, it had spread from East to West, had embraced whole nations with its branches, and sheltered them under its leaves. That the Americans had purchased their liberty at a dear rate, since they had quitted their native country, and gone in search of freedom to a desert.

That the parts of the address which he had already touched upon, however important in themselves, bore no comparison with that which still remained. That indeed there never was a time, at which the unanimity recommended to them by the King, was more necessary than at present ; but he differed very much from the noble Duke, with respect to the propriety or utility of those general assurances contained in the latter part of the address. That the most perfect harmony in that House would have but little effect towards quieting the minds of the people, and removing their discontent. That it was the duty of that House to enquire into the causes of the notorious dissatisfaction expressed by the whole English nation, to state those causes to their Sovereign, and then to give him their best advice, in what manner he ought to act. That the privileges of the House of Peers, however transcendant, however appropriated to them, stood in fact upon the broad bottom of the people. They were no longer in the condition of the barons, their ancestors, who had separate interests and separate strength to support them. The rights of the greatest and of the meanest subjects now stood upon the same foundation ; the security of law, common to all. It was therefore their highest interest, as well as their duty, to watch over, and guard the people ; for, when the
people

people had lost their rights, those of the Peerage would soon become insignificant. To argue from experience, he begged leave to refer their Lordships to a most important passage in history, described by a man of great abilities, Mr. ROBERTSON. This writer in his life of CHARLES the FIFTH, (a great, ambitious, wicked man) informs us, that the Peers of Castile were so far cajoled and seduced by him, as to join him in overturning that part of the Cortez, which represented the people. They were weak enough to adopt, and base enough to be flattered with the expectation, that by assisting their master in this iniquitous purpose, they should encrease their own strength and importance. What was the consequence? They exchanged the constitutional authority of Peers, for the titular vanity of Grandees. They were no longer a part of a Parliament, for *that* they had destroyed; and when they pretended to have an opinion as Grandees, he told them he did not understand it; and naturally enough, when they had surrendered their authority, treated their advice with contempt. The consequences did not stop here. He made use of the people whom he had enslaved to enslave others, and employed the strength of the Castilians to destroy the rights of their free neighbours of Arragon.

My Lords, let this example be a lesson to us all. Let us be cautious how we admit an idea, that *our* rights stand on a footing different from those of the people. Let us be cautious how we invade the liberties of our fellow subjects, however mean, however remote; for be assured, my Lords, that in whatever part of the Empire you suffer slavery to be established, whether it be in America or in Ireland, or here at home, you will find it a disease which spreads by contact, and soon reaches from the extremities to the heart. The man who has lost his own freedom, becomes from that moment an instrument in the hands of an ambitious Prince, to destroy the freedom of others. These reflections, my Lords, are but too applicable to our present situation. The liberty of the subject is invaded not only in provinces, but here at home. The English people are loud in their complaints: they proclaim with one voice the injuries they have received: they demand redress; and depend upon it, my Lords, that one way or other, they *will have* redress. They will never return to a state of tranquillity until they *are* redressed; *nor ought they*; for in my judgment, my
 Lords

Lords, and I speak it boldly, it were better for them to perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expence of a single iota of the Constitution. Let me entreat your Lordships then, in the name of all the duties, you owe to your sovereign, to your country, and to yourselves, to perform that office, to which you are called by the Constitution; by informing his Majesty truly of the condition of his subjects, and of the real cause of their dissatisfaction. I have considered the matter with most serious attention, and as I have not in my own breast the smallest doubt, that the present universal discontent of the nation arises from the proceedings of the House of Commons upon the expulsion of Mr. WILKES, I think that we ought in our address, to state that matter to the King. I have drawn up an amendment to the address, which I beg leave to submit to the consideration of the House:—

“ And for these great and essential purposes, we will with all convenient speed, take into our most serious consideration, the causes of the discontents which prevail in so many parts of your Majesty’s dominions, and particularly the late proceedings of the House of Commons, touching the incapacity of JOHN WILKES, Esq. (expelled by that House) to be elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament, thereby refusing, (by a resolution of one branch of the Legislature only) to the subject his common right, and depriving the electors of Middlesex of their free choice of a representative.”

The cautious and guarded terms in which this amendment is drawn up, will, I hope, reconcile every noble Lord who hears me to my opinion; and as I think no man can dispute the truth of the facts, so I am persuaded no man can dispute the propriety and necessity of laying those facts before his Majesty.

LORD MANSFIELD*. He began with affirming, that he had never delivered any opinion upon the legality of the proceedings of the House of Commons on the Middlesex election, nor should he now,

* This noble Lord’s answer (taken also from the same Gentleman’s notes) it is necessary to insert, on account of Lord CHATHAM’s reply, which follows.

notwithstanding

notwithstanding any thing that might be expected from him. That he had locked it up in his own breast, and it should die with him: that he wished to avoid speaking on the subject; but that the motion made by the noble Lord, was of a nature too extraordinary and too alarming, to suffer him to be silent. He acknowledged the unhappy distracted state of the nation; but *he* was happy enough to affirm, with a safe conscience, that he had no ways contributed to it. That in his own opinion, declarations of the law made by either House of Parliament were always attended with bad effects: he had constantly opposed them whenever he had an opportunity, and in his judicial capacity, thought himself bound never to pay the least regard to them. That although thoroughly convinced of the illegality of general warrants (which, indeed, naming no persons, were no warrants at all), he was sorry to see the House of Commons by their vote, declare them to be illegal. That it looked like a legislative act, which yet had no force nor effect as a law: for supposing the House had declared them to be legal, the Courts in Westminster would nevertheless have been bound to declare the contrary; and consequently to throw a disrespect upon the vote of the House: but he made a wide distinction between the general declarations of law, and the particular decision which might be made by either House, in their judicial capacity, upon a case coming regularly before them, and properly the subject of their jurisdiction. That here they did not act as legislators, pronouncing abstractly and generally what the law was, and for the directions of others, but as judges drawing the law from the several sources from which it ought to be drawn, for their own guidance in deciding the particular question before them, and applying it strictly to the decision of that question. That for his own part, wherever the statute law was silent, he knew not where to look for the law of Parliament, or for a definition of the privileges of either House, except in the proceedings and decisions of each House respectively. That he knew of no Parliamentary code to judge of questions depending upon the judicial authority of Parliament, but the practice of each House moderated or extended according to the wisdom of the House, and accommodated to the cases before them. That a question touching the seat of a Member in the lower House, could only be determined by

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that House: there was no other Court where it could be tried, nor to which there could be an appeal from their decision. That wherever a Court of Justice is supreme, and their sentence final (which he apprehended no man would dispute was the case of the House of Commons, in matters touching elections) the determination of that Court, must be received and submitted to, as the law of the land; for if there be no appeal from a judicial sentence, where shall that sentence be questioned, or how can it be reversed? He admitted that Judges might be corrupt, and their sentences erroneous; but these were cases, for which, in respect to Supreme Courts, the Constitution had provided no remedy. That if they wilfully determined wrong, it was iniquitous indeed, and in the highest degree detestable. But it was a crime, of which no human tribunal could take cognizance, and it lay between God and their consciences. That he avoided entering into the merits of the late decision of the House of Commons, because it was a subject he was convinced the Lords had no right to enquire into or discuss. That the amendment proposed by the noble Lord, threatened the most pernicious consequences to the nation, as it manifestly violated every form and law of Parliament, was a gross attack upon the privileges of the House of Commons, and instead of promoting that harmony which the King had recommended, must inevitably throw the whole country into a flame. That there never was an instance of the Lords enquiring into the proceedings of the House of Commons with respect to their own Members; much less of their taking upon them to censure such proceedings, or of their advising the Crown to take notice of them. If, indeed, it be the noble Lord's design to quarrel with the House of Commons, I confess it will have that effect, and immediately. The lower House will undoubtedly assert their privileges, and give you vote for vote. I leave it, therefore, to your Lordships, to consider the fatal effects which may arise in such a conjuncture as the present, either from an open breach between the two Houses of Parliament, or between the King and the House of Commons. But, my Lords, if I could suppose it were even adviseable to promote a disagreement between the two Houses, I would still recommend it to you to take care to be in the right; whenever I am forced into a quarrel, I will
always

always endeavour to have justice on my side. Now, my Lords, admitting the House of Commons to have done wrong, will it mend the matter for your Lordships to do ten times worse? and that I am clearly convinced would be the case, if your Lordships were obliged to declare any opinion of your own, or offer any advice to the Crown, on a matter in which, by the Constitution of this country, you have no right whatever to interfere. I will go farther, my Lords; I will affirm, that such a step would be as ineffectual as it would be irregular. Suppose the King, in consequence of our advice, should dissolve the Parliament (for that, I presume, is the true object of the noble Lord's amendment), the next House of Commons that meets, if they know any thing of their own privileges, or the laws of this country, will, undoubtedly, on the very first day of the session, take notice of our proceedings, and declare them to be a violation of the rights of the Commons. They must do so, my Lords, or they will shamefully betray their constituents and themselves. A noble Lord (Lord MARCHMONT) near me, has proposed, that we should demand a conference with the other House. It would be a more moderate step, I confess, but equally ineffectual. The Commons would never submit to discuss their own privileges with the Lords. They would not come to a conference upon such a subject; or if they did come, they would soon break it up with indignation. If then, the Commons have done wrong, I know of no remedy, but either, that the same power should undo the mischief they had done, or that the case should be provided for by an act of the legislature. That, indeed, might be effectual. But whether such a remedy be proper or necessary in the present case, or whether, indeed, it be attainable, considering, that the other House must give their consent to it, is not a question now before us. If such a bill should be proposed, it will be regular and Parliamentary, and we may then, with propriety, enter into the legal merits of the decision of the House of Commons. As for the amendment proposed by the noble Lord, I object to it as irregular and unparliamentary. I am persuaded, that it will be attended with very pernicious consequences to this country, and that it cannot possibly produce a single good one.

Earl of CHATHAM. My Lords. There is one plain maxim, to which I have invariably adhered through life : That in every question, in which my liberty or my property were concerned, I should consult and be determined by the dictates of common sense. I confess, my Lords, that I am apt to distrust the refinements of learning, because I have seen the ablest and the most learned men equally liable to deceive themselves, and to mislead others. The condition of human nature would be lamentable indeed, if nothing less than the greatest learning and talents, which fall to the share of so small a number of men, were sufficient to direct our judgment and our conduct. But Providence has taken better care of our happiness, and given us, in the simplicity of common sense, a rule for our direction, by which we shall never be misled. I confess, my Lords, I had no other guide in drawing up the amendment, which I submitted to your consideration; and before I heard the opinion of the noble Lord who spoke last, I did not conceive, that it was even within the limits of possibility for the greatest human genius, the most subtle understanding, or the acutest wit, so strangely to misrepresent my meaning, and to give it an interpretation so entirely foreign from what I intended to express, and from that sense, which the very terms of the amendment plainly and distinctly carry with them. If there be the smallest foundation for the censure thrown upon me by that noble Lord, if, either expressly or by the most distant implication, I have said or insinuated any part of what the noble Lord has charged me with, discard my opinions for ever, discard the motion with contempt.

My Lords, I must beg the indulgence of the house. Neither will my health permit me, nor do I pretend to be qualified, to follow that learned Lord minutely through the whole of his argument. No man is better acquainted with his abilities and learning, nor has a greater respect for them, than I have. I have had the pleasure of sitting with him in the other house, and always listened to him with attention. I have not now lost a word of what he said, NOR DID I EVER. Upon the present question, I meet him without fear. The evidence, which truth carries with it, is superior to all argument; it neither wants the support, nor dreads the opposition of the greatest abilities. If there
be

be a single word in the amendment to justify the interpretation, which the noble Lord has been pleased to give it, I am ready to renounce the whole: let it be read, my Lords; let it speak for itself. (*It was read*)—In what instance does it interfere with the privileges of the House of Commons? In what respect does it question their jurisdiction, or suppose an authority in this house to arraign the justice of their sentence? I am sure that every Lord who hears me, will bear me witness that I said not one word touching the merits of the Middlesex election; far from conveying any opinion upon that matter in the amendment, I did not even in discourse deliver my own sentiments upon it. I did not say that the House of Commons had done either right or wrong; but, when his Majesty was pleased to recommend it to us to cultivate unanimity amongst ourselves, I thought it the duty of this house, as the great hereditary council of the crown, to state to his Majesty the distracted condition of his dominions, together with the events which had destroyed unanimity among his subjects. But, my Lords, I stated those events merely as facts, without the smallest addition either of censure or of opinion. They are facts, my Lords, which I am not only convinced are true, but which I know are indisputably true. For example, my Lords: will any man deny that discontents prevail in many parts of his Majesty's dominions? Or that those discontents arise from the proceedings of the House of Commons touching the declared incapacity of Mr. Wilkes? 'Tis impossible: no man can deny a truth so notorious. Or will any man deny that those proceedings refused, by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only, to the subject his common right? Is it not indisputably true, my Lords, that Mr. Wilkes *had* a common right, and that he lost it no other way but by a resolution of the House of Commons? My Lords, I have been tender of misrepresenting the House of Commons: I have consulted their journals, and have taken the very words of their own resolution. Do they not tell us, in so many words, that Mr. Wilkes having been expelled, was thereby rendered incapable of serving in that parliament? and is it not their resolution alone, which refuses to the subject his common right? The amendment says farther, that the electors of Middlesex

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are deprived of their free choice of a representative. Is this a false fact, my Lords? or have I given an unfair representation of it? Will any man presume to affirm that Colonel Luttrell is the free choice of the electors of Middlesex? We all know the contrary. We all know that Mr. Wilkes (whom I mention without either praise or censure) was the favourite of the country, and chosen, by a very great and acknowledged majority, to represent them in parliament. If the noble Lord dislikes the manner in which these facts are stated, I shall think myself happy in being advised by him how to alter it. I am very little anxious about terms, provided the substances be preserved; and these are facts, my Lords, which I am sure will always retain their weight and importance, in whatever form of language they are described.

Now, my Lords, since I have been forced to enter into the explanation of an amendment, in which nothing less than the genius of penetration could have discovered an obscurity, and having, as I hope, redeemed myself in the opinion of the house; having redeemed my motion from the severe representation given of it by the noble Lord, I must a little longer intreat your Lordships' indulgence. The constitution of this country has been openly invaded in fact; and I have heard, with horror and astonishment, that very invasion defended upon principle. What is this mysterious power, undefined by law, unknown to the subject, which we must not approach without awe, nor speak of without reverence, which no man may question, and to which all men must submit? My Lords, I thought the slavish doctrine of passive obedience had long since been exploded: and, when our kings were obliged to confess that their title to the crown, and the rule of their government, had no other foundation than the known laws of the land, I never expected to hear a divine right, or a divine infallibility, attributed to any other branch of the legislature. My Lords, I beg to be understood, no man respects the House of Commons more than I do, or would contend more strenuously than I would, to preserve them their just and legal authority. Within the bounds prescribed by the constitution, that authority is necessary to the well-being of the people: beyond that line every exertion of
power

power is arbitrary, is illegal ; it threatens tyranny to the people, and destruction to the state. Power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination : it is not only pernicious to those who are subject to it, but tends to its own destruction. It is what my noble friend, (Lord Lyttelton) has truly described it, *Res detestabilis et Caduca*. My Lords, I acknowledge the just power, and reverence the constitution of the House of Commons. It is for their own sakes that I would prevent their assuming a power which the constitution has denied them, least, by grasping at an authority they have no right to, they should forfeit that which they legally possess. My Lords, I affirm that they have betrayed their constituents, and violated the constitution, Under pretence of declaring the law, they have *made* a law, and united in the same persons the office of legislator and of judge. I shall endeavour to adhere strictly to the noble Lord's doctrine, which it is indeed impossible to mistake, as so far as my memory will permit me to preserve his expression. He seems fond of the word jurisdiction, and I confess, with the force and effect which he has given it, it is a word of copious meaning and wonderful extent. If his Lordship's doctrine be well founded, we must renounce all those political maxims by which our understandings have hitherto been directed ; and even the first elements of learning taught us in our schools when we were school-boys. My Lords, we knew that jurisdiction was nothing more than *Jus dicere* ; we knew that *Legem fecere* and *Legem dicere* were powers clearly distinguished from each other in the nature of things, and wisely separated by the wisdom of the English constitution ; but now, it seems, we must adopt a new system of thinking. The House of Commons, we are told, have a supreme jurisdiction ; that there is no appeal from their sentence ; and that wherever they are competent judges, their decision must be received and submitted to, as, *ipso facto*, the law of the land. My Lords, I am a plain man, and have been brought up in a religious reverence for the original simplicity of the laws of England. By what sophistry they have been perverted, by what artifices they have been involved in obscurity, is not for me to explain ; the principles, however, of the English laws are still sufficiently clear : they are founded in reason, and

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and are the master-piece of the human understanding; but it is in the text that I would look for a direction to my judgment, not in the commentaries of modern professors. The noble Lord assures us, that he knows not in what code the law of parliament is to be found; that the House of Commons, when they act as judges, have no law to direct them but their own wisdom; that their decision is law; and if they determine wrong the subject has no appeal but to heaven. What then, my Lords, are all the generous efforts of our ancestors, are all those glorious contentions, by which they meant to secure to themselves, and to transmit to their posterity a known law, a certain rule of living; reduced to this conclusion, that instead of the arbitrary power of a king, we must submit to the arbitrary power of an House of Commons? If this be true, what benefit do we derive from the exchange? Tyranny, my Lords, is detestable in every shape, but in none so formidable as where it is assumed and exercised by a number of tyrants. But, my Lords, this is not the fact, this is not the constitution; we *have* a law of parliament, we *have* a code, in which every honest man may find it. We have Magna Charta, we have the statute book, and the bill of rights.

If a case should arise unknown to these great authorities, we have still that plain English reason left, which is the foundation of all our English jurisprudence. That reason tells us, that every Judicial Court and every Political Society must be vested with those powers and privileges, which are necessary for performing the office to which they are appointed. It tells us also, that no Court of Justice can have a power inconsistent with, or paramount to the known laws of the land. That the people, when they chuse their representatives never mean to convey to them a power of invading the rights, or trampling upon the liberties of those whom they represent. What security would they have for their rights, if once they admitted, that a Court of Judicature might determine every question that came before it, not by any known, positive law, but by the vague indeterminate, arbitrary rule, of what the noble Lord is pleased to call *the wisdom of the Court*? With respect to the decision of the Courts of Justice, I am far from denying them their due weight and authority; yet, placing them in
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the most respectable view, I still consider them, not as law, but as an evidence of the law; and before they can arrive even at that degree of authority, it must appear, that they are founded in, and confirmed by, reason; that they are supported by precedents taken from good and moderate times; that they do not contradict any positive law; that they are submitted to without reluctance by the people; that they are unquestioned by the Legislature, (which is equivalent to a tacit confirmation); and, what, in my judgment, is by far the most important, that they do not violate the spirit of the Constitution. My Lords, this is not a vague or loose expression; we all know what the Constitution is; we all know, that the first principle of it is, that the subject shall not be governed by the *arbitrium* of any one man, or body of men (less than the whole legislature), but by certain laws, to which he has virtually given his consent, which are open to him to examine, and not beyond his ability to understand.--- Now, my Lords, I affirm, and am ready to maintain, that the late decision of the House of Commons upon the Middlesex election, is destitute of every one of those properties and conditions which I hold to be essential to the legality of such a decision. It is not founded in reason; for it carries with it a contradiction, that the representative should perform the office of the constituent body. It is not supported by a single precedent; for the case of Sir R. WALPOLE is but a half precedent, and even that half is imperfect. Incapacity was indeed declared, but his crimes are stated as the ground of the resolution, and his opponent was declared to be not duly elected, even after his incapacity was established. It contradicts Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, by which it is provided, that no subject shall be deprived of his freehold, unless by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; and that elections of members to serve in Parliament, shall be free; and so far is this decision from being submitted to by the people, that they have taken the strongest measures, and adopted the most positive language to express their discontent. Whether it will be questioned by the Legislature, will depend upon your Lordship's resolution; but that it violates the spirit of the Constitution, will, I think, be disputed by no man who has heard this day's debate, and who wishes well to the freedom of his country: yet, if we are to believe

the noble Lord, this great grievance, this manifest violation of the first principles of the Constitution will not admit of a remedy; is not even capable of redress, unless we appeal at once to Heaven. My Lords, I have better hopes of the Constitution, and a firmer confidence in the wisdom and Constitutional authority of this House. It is to *your* ancestors, my Lords---it is to the English barons that we are indebted for the laws and Constitution we possess. Their virtues were rude and uncultivated, but they were great and sincere. Their understandings were as little polished as their manners, but they had hearts to distinguish right from wrong; they had heads to distinguish truth from falsehood; they understood the rights of humanity, and they had spirit to maintain them.

My Lords, I think, that History has not done justice to their conduct, when they obtained from their Sovereign, that great acknowledgment of national rights contained in Magna Charta: they did not confine it to themselves alone, but delivered it as a common blessing to the whole people. They did not say these are the rights of the great Barons, or these are rights of the great Prelates:---No, my Lords, they said, in the simple Latin of the times, *nullus liber homo*, and provided as carefully for the meanest subject, as for the greatest. These are uncouth words, and sound but poorly in the ears of scholars; neither are they addressed to the criticism of scholars, but to the hearts of free men. These three words, *nullus liber homo*, have a meaning which interests us all; they deserve to be remembered---they deserve to be inculcated in our minds---they are worth all the classics. Let us not, then, degenerate from the glorious example of our ancestors. Those Iron Barons, (for so I may call them, when compared with the Silken Barons of modern days), were the Guardians of the People; yet *their* virtues, my Lords, were never engaged in a question of such importance as the present. A breach has been made in the Constitution---the battlements are dismantled---the citadel is open to the first invader---the walls totter---the Constitution is not tenable.---What remains then, but for *us* to stand foremost in the breach, to repair it, or perish in it?

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Great pains have been taken to alarm us with the dreadful consequences of a difference between the two Houses of Parliament.--- That the House of Commons will resent our presuming to take notice of their proceedings; that they will resent our daring to advise the Crown, and never forgive us for attempting to save the State.---My Lords, I am sensible of the importance and difficulty of this great crisis: at a moment such as this, we are called upon to do our duty, without dreading the resentment of any man. But if apprehensions of this kind are to affect us, let us consider which we ought to respect most---the representative, or the collective body of the people.---My Lords, five hundred gentlemen are not ten millions; and if we *must* have a contention, let us take care to have the English nation on our side. If this question be given up, the freeholders of England are reduced to a condition baser than the peasantry of Poland. If they desert their own cause they deserve to be slaves!---My Lords, this is not merely the cold opinion of my understanding, but the glowing expression of what I feel. It is my heart that speaks: I know I speak warmly, my Lords; but this warmth shall neither betray my argument, nor my temper. The kingdom is in a flame. As mediators between the king and people, it is our duty to represent to him the true condition and temper of his subjects. It is a duty which no particular respects should hinder us from performing; and whenever his Majesty shall demand our advice, it will then be our duty to enquire more minutely into the causes of the present discontents. Whenever that enquiry shall come on, I pledge myself to the house to prove, that since the first institution of the House of Commons, not a single precedent can be produced to justify their late proceedings. My noble and learned friend, (the Lord Chancellor) has also pledged himself to the house that he will support that assertion.

My Lords, the character and circumstances of Mr. Wilkes, have been very improperly introduced into this question, not only here, but in that court of judicature where his cause was tried. I mean the House of Commons. With one party he was a patriot of the first magnitude;

magnitude; with the other the vilest incendiary. For my own part, I consider him merely and indifferently as an English subject, possessed of certain rights which the laws have given him, and which the laws alone can take from him. I am neither moved by his private vices, nor by his public merits. In *his* person, though he were the *worst* of men, I contend for the safety and security of the best; and God forbid, my Lords, that there should be a power in this country of measuring the civil rights of the subject by his moral character, or by any other rule but the fixed laws of the land. I believe, my Lords; I shall not be suspected of any personal partiality to this unhappy man: I am not very conversant in pamphlets or newspapers, but, from what I have heard, and from the little I have read, I may venture to affirm, that I have had my share in the compliments which have come from that quarter; and as for motives of ambition, (for I must take to myself a part of the noble Duke's insinuation) I believe, my Lords, there have been times in which I have had the honour of standing in such favour in the closet, that there must have been something extravagantly unreasonable in my wishes, if they might not *all* have been gratified; after neglecting those opportunities, I am now suspected of coming forward in the decline of life, in the anxious pursuit of wealth and power, which it is impossible for me to enjoy. Be it so, there is one ambition at least which I ever will acknowledge, which I will not renounce but with my life. It is the ambition of delivering to my posterity those rights of freedom which I have received from my ancestors. I am not now pleading the cause of an individual, but of every freeholder in England. In what manner this house may constitutionally interpose in their defence, and what kind of redress this case will require and admit of, is not at present the subject of our consideration. The amendment, if agreed to, will naturally lead us to such an enquiry. That enquiry may, perhaps, point out the necessity of an act of the legislature, or it may lead us, perhaps, to desire a conference with the other house; which one noble Lord affirms is the only parliamentary way of proceeding; and which another noble Lord assures us the House of Commons would either

either not come to, or would break off with indignation. Leaving their Lordships to reconcile that matter between themselves, I shall only say, that before we have enquired, we cannot be provided with materials, consequently we are not at present prepared for a conference.

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It is possible, my Lords, that the enquiry I speak of may lead us to advise his Majesty to dissolve the present parliament ; nor have I any doubt of our right to give that advice, if we should think it necessary. His Majesty will then determine whether he will yield to the united petitions of the people of England, or maintain the House of Commons in the exercise of a legislative power, which heretofore abolished the House of Lords, and overturned the monarchy. I willingly acquit the present House of Commons of having actually formed so detestable a design ; but they cannot themselves foresee to what excesses they may be carried hereafter : and for my own part, I should be sorry to trust to their future moderation. Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who possess it ; and this I know, my Lords, that where law ends tyranny begins !

The amendment was negatived. But in consequence of this strong and public arraignment of the Ministry, several of them resigned. Lord CHATHAM's information of the proceedings of the Cabinet Council, was supposed to have been derived from Lord CAMDEN, who, at that time, was Lord Chancellor ; and he having this day divided with Lord CHATHAM, the Great Seal was immediately taken from him.

Mr. YORKE was prevailed upon by his Majesty to accept the Seal ; and in a few hours afterwards he put a period to his own existence.

Notwithstanding the several resignations, some of them of the first families of the kingdom, which took place at this
time

time---notwithstanding the general dissatisfaction and ferment which prevailed throughout the nation---notwithstanding the circumstances of the recent and tragical death of Mr: YORKE---still the Court resolved to persevere in their measures §.

§ The success of the Court in this perseverance against the petitions of the people of England, encouraged the Court in the same perseverance against the petitions of the Americans, which followed soon after. But the Americans being farther removed from the scene of corruption, were not debilitated by its influence. They retained the vigour and the virtue of their ancestors, while their cousins in Britain, affrighted by power, and oppressed by taxes, tamely kissed the rod of their chastisement.

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Speeches of the Marquis of Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton, and Lord Chatham, on the State of the Nation—Duke of Grafton resigns.

ON the twenty-second of January, the Marquis of ROCK-
INGHAM moved for fixing a day, to take into considera-
tion the state of the nation.

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The object of his Lordship's speech* was to shew, that the present unhappy condition of affairs, and the universal discontent of the people, did not arise from any immediate temporary cause, but had grown upon us by degrees, from the moment of his Majesty's accession to the throne. That the persons, whom his Majesty then confided, had introduced a total change in the old system of English Government—that they had adopted a maxim, which must prove fatal to the liberties of this country, viz. "That the Royal Prerogative alone was sufficient to support Government, to whatever hands the Administration should be committed;" and he could trace the operation of this principle through every act of Government since the accession, in which those persons could be supposed to have any influence. Their first exertion of the prerogative was to make a peace, contrary to the wishes of the nation; and on terms totally disproportioned to

Lord Rockingham's speech on the state of the nation.
MS.

* This speech, the answer of the Duke of GRAFTON, and Lord CHATHAM's reply, are printed from the notes of the same Gentleman, who communicated the three preceding speeches, made on the first day of the session. They have none of them been printed before. It was necessary to insert Lord ROCKINGHAM's and the Duke of GRAFTON's speeches, as introductory to Lord CHATHAM's.

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the successes of the war; but as they felt themselves unequal to the conduct of a war, they thought a peace, on any conditions, necessary for their own security and permanence in Administration. He then took notice of those odious, tyrannical acts of power, by which an approbation of the peace had been obtained. And he mentioned the general sweep through every branch and department of Administration; the removes not merely confined to the higher employments, but carried down, with the minutest cruelty, to the lowest offices of the state; and numberless innocent families, which had subsisted on salaries from fifty to two hundred pounds a year, turned out to misery and ruin, with as little regard to the rules of justice, as to the common feelings of compassion. That their ideas of taxation were marked by the same principle. The argument urged for taxing the cyder counties, viz. "The equity of placing them on the same footing with others, where malt liquors were chiefly used," was too obvious to escape the attention of *former* ministers; but *former* ministers paid more regard to the liberties of the people, than to the improvement of the revenue. That the object of the cyder act, or the effect of it, at least, was not so much to increase the revenue, as to extend the laws of excise, and open the doors of private men to the officers of the crown.

Without entering into the right of taxing America, it was evident, that since the revenue, expected to arise from that measure, was allowed to be very inconsiderable, the real purpose of government must have been to increase the number of their officers in that country, and consequently the strength of the prerogative.

He then took notice of the indecent manner with which the debt upon the king's civil list had been laid before, and provided for, by parliament. No account offered---No enquiry permitted to be made---Not even the decent satisfaction given to parliament of an assurance, that *in future* such extraordinary expences should be avoided. On the contrary, the king's speech on that occasion had been so cautiously worded, that, far from engaging to avoid such exceedings for the future, it intimated plainly that the expences of the king's civil government could not be confined within the revenue
granted

granted by parliament.—That as the nation was heavily burthened by the expence, they were no less grossly insulted by the manner in which that burthen was laid upon them. That, in certain grants lately made by the crown, the ministry had adhered to their principle of carrying the prerogative to its utmost extent. No right of property—no continuance of possession had been considered. But, if these had been weaker than they were, he thought some respect was due to the memory of the great Prince, by whom those grants had been made; and in common justice to the noble Duke*, whose property had been invaded, the ministry should, at least, have avoided that hurry and precipitation, which had hardly left his Grace time to defend his rights; and by which the ministry themselves seemed to confess their measures would not bear a more deliberate mode of proceeding. But the purposes of an election were to be served; and the person, benefited by this measure, was supposed to be a better friend to administration, than the noble Duke, whose property had been arbitrarily transferred to another. And when, upon occasion of this extraordinary measure, and to quiet the minds of the people, a bill had been brought into parliament, for securing the property of the subject, it had been rejected the first year, and violently resisted the second; but the justice and necessity of it had prevailed over the influence, and favourite maxims of the administration.

That the affairs of the external part of the empire had been managed with the same want of wisdom; and had been brought into nearly the same condition with those at home. In Ireland he saw the parliament prorogued, (which probably led to a dissolution) and the affairs of that kingdom left unprovided for, and in the greatest confusion. That in America, measures of violence had been adopted, and it had been the uniform language and doctrine of the ministry to force that country to submit. That, in his own opinion, violence would not do *there*, and he hoped it would not do *here*. But even if a plan of force were adviseable, why had it not been adhered to? Why did they not adopt and abide by some *one* system of conduct?

* Duke of PORTLAND.

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That the king's speeches, and the language of the ministry at home, had denounced nothing but war and vengeance against a rebellious people, whilst his Majesty's governors abroad, were instructed to convey to them the gentlest promises of relief and satisfaction. His Lordship here referred to Lord Botetort's speech to the assembly of Virginia, in May 1769, out of which he recited a passage in point. The passage was this----*"I think myself peculiarly fortunate to be able to inform you that, in a letter dated May the 13th, I have been assured by the Earl of Hillsborough, that his Majesty's present administration have at no time entertained a design to propose to parliament to lay any further taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a revenue, and that it is their intention to propose in the next session of parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce."*

With respect to foreign affairs, he thought it highly necessary to enquire, why France had been permitted to make so considerable an acquisition as the island of Corsica? That no man could deny, that this island would prove a great addition to the strength of France, with respect to her marine; both from its harbours, and the timber it produced. He thought this attempt of France was not only unjust in itself, but directly contrary to certain stipulations in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, confirmed by that of 1763, by which it was determined and settled. *"That the republic of Genoa should be intirely re-established and maintained in all its former states and possessions; and that for the advantage and maintenance of the peace in general, for the tranquillity of Italy in particular, all things should remain there in the condition they were in before the war."* That he had not dwelt so strongly as he might have done, upon that great invasion of the constitution, which had now thrown this whole country into a flame: the people were sufficiently alarmed for their rights, and he did not doubt but that matters would be duly enquired into. But he considered it only as the point to which all the other measures of the administration had tended. That when the constitution was violated, we should not content ourselves with repairing the single breach, but look back into the causes and trace the principles which had produced it,

it, in order not merely to restore the constitution to present health, but, if possible, make it invulnerable hereafter.

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Upon the whole, he recommended it strongly to their Lordships, to fix an early day for taking into their consideration the state of this country in all its relations and dependencies, foreign, provincial, and domestic; for we had been injured in them all. That consideration would, he hoped, lead their Lordship's to advise the crown not only how to correct past errors, but how to establish a system of government more wise, more permanent, better suited to the genius of the people, and, at least, consistent with the spirit of the constitution.

The Duke of GRAFTON, who spoke next, did not oppose the motion; on the contrary he engaged to second it, and to meet the noble Lord upon the great question whenever the house should think proper. For the present, he meant only to exculpate himself from some severe reflections, which he thought were directed particularly and personally against himself. That he was ready to justify the measures alluded to by the noble Lord, about every other part of his conduct; and he did not doubt of being able to do so to the satisfaction of the house. That the resumption made by the Commissioners of the Treasury, of a supposed grant of the crown land, had been most unfairly represented. He wished the noble Lord instead of the word *property*, had only used *possession*; and then he would have truly described the fact, and the object. That upon the application made to the board, by the person who had discovered the defect, in the noble Duke's title, he could not consistently with his duty, as an officer of the crown, have rejected the claim made by that person. That if the noble Duke, instead of being an opponent, had been the warmest friend of administration, the Treasury Board could not have acted otherwise than they did, without a flagrant violation of justice; and as for that hurry and precipitation of which they were accused, he took upon him to contradict the noble Lord in the most positive manner, and offered to prove at the bar of the house, that they had proceeded, not only with temper and deliberation, but with the utmost attention to the interests of the noble Duke; and every possible mark of respect to his person; and had protracted their decision

Duke of Grafton's answer.
M.S.

to the very last moment, allowed by the rules of the Board. With respect to the debt upon the Civil List, he neither had nor could have any personal motives, for wishing to conceal from Parliament, the particulars of the extraordinary expences, by which that debt had been incurred. That the persons to whose offices it belonged, had been constantly employed in drawing up a state of that account, and that they had received every possible light and information from the officers of the Crown, in order to shorten and facilitate business: but it was a work of infinite labour and extent; and notwithstanding the utmost diligence in the several public offices could not yet be completed.

That in regard to foreign affairs, he believed the conduct of the King's Ministers would bear the strictest examination, and would be found irreproachable. That for his own part, he had never thought, nor had he ever affirmed, that the conditions of the late peace were such as the people had a right to expect. He had maintained that opinion in former times, and no change of situation should ever induce him to relinquish it. But that the peace being once made, and those advantages, which we might have expected from a continuance of the war, being now irrecoverable, he would never advise the King to engage in another war, as long as the dignity of the Crown and the real interests of the nation could be preserved without it. That what we had suffered already by foreign connections, ought to warn us against engaging lightly in quarrels, in which we had no immediate concern, and to which we might probably sacrifice our own most essential interests.

Lord Chatham's
reply.
MS.

Earl of CHATHAM. My Lords, I meant to have risen immediately to second the motion made by the noble Lord. The charge which the noble Duke seemed to think affected himself particularly, did undoubtedly demand an early answer; it was proper he should speak before me, and I am as ready as any man to applaud the decency and propriety with which he has expressed himself.

I entirely agree with the noble Lord, both in the necessity of your Lordships concurring with the motion, and in the principles and arguments

ments, by which he has very judiciously supported it. I see clearly, that the complexion of our Government has been materially altered; and I can trace the origin of the alteration up to a period, which ought to have been an æra of happiness and prosperity to this country.

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My Lords, I shall give you my reasons for concurring with the motion, not methodically, but as they occur to my mind. I may wander, perhaps, from the exact parliamentary debate; but I hope I shall say nothing but what may deserve your attention, and what, if not strictly proper at present, would be fit to be said, when the state of the nation shall come to be considered. My uncertain state of health must plead my excuse. I am now in some pain, and very probably may not be able to attend my duty when I desire it most in this House. I thank God, my Lords, for having thus long preserved so inconsiderable a being as I am, to take a part upon this great occasion, and to contribute my endeavours, such as they are, to restore, to save, to confirm the Constitution.

My Lords, I need not look abroad for grievances. The grand capital mischief is fixed at home. It corrupts the very foundation of our political existence, and preys upon the vitals of the State.—The Constitution has been grossly violated.—THE CONSTITUTION AT THIS MOMENT STANDS VIOLATED. Until that wound be healed, until the grievance be redressed, it is in vain to recommend union to Parliament; in vain to promote concord among the people. If we mean seriously to unite the nation within itself, we must convince them, that their complaints are regarded, and that their inquiries shall be redressed. On *that* foundation I would take the lead in recommending peace and harmony to the people. On any other, I would never wish to see them united again. If the breach in the Constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity. If not—MAY DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER.—I know to what point this doctrine and this language will appear directed. But I feel the principles of an Englishman, and I utter them without apprehension or reserve. The crisis is indeed alarming:—so much the more does it require a prudent relaxation on the part of Government. If the King's servants will not permit a constitutional question to be decided

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on, according to the forms, and on the principles of the Constitution, it must then be decided in some other manner; and rather than it should be given up, rather than the nation should surrender their birth-right to a despotic Minister, I hope, my Lords, old as I am, *I shall see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between the People and the Government.* My Lords, this is not the language of Faction; let it be tried by that criterion, by which alone we can distinguish what is factious, from what is not—by the principles of the English Constitution. I have been bred up in these principles; and know, that when the liberty of the subject is invaded, and all redress denied him, resistance is justified. If I had a doubt upon the matter, I should follow the example set us by the most reverend bench, with whom I believe it is a maxim, when any doubt in point of faith arises, or any question of controversy is started, to appeal at once to the greatest source and evidence of our religion—I mean the Holy Bible: the Constitution has its Political Bible, by which, if it be fairly consulted, every political question may, and ought to be determined. *Magna Charta*, the petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights, form that code, which I call *the Bible of the English Constitution*. Had some of his Majesty's unhappy predecessors trusted less to the comments of their Ministers, had they been better read in the text itself, the glorious Revolution would have remained only possible in theory, and would not now have existed upon record, a formidable example to their successors.

My Lords, I cannot agree with the noble Duke, that nothing less than an immediate attack upon the honour or interest of this nation, can authorise us to interpose in defence of weaker states, and in stopping the enterprizes of an ambitious neighbour. Whenever that narrow, selfish policy, has prevailed in our Councils, we have constantly experienced the fatal effects of it. By suffering our natural enemies to oppress the powers, less able than we are to make a resistance, we have permitted them to encrease their strength, we have lost the most favourable opportunities of opposing them with success; and found ourselves at last obliged to run every hazard, in making that cause our own, in which we were not wise enough to take part, while the expence
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and danger might have been supported by others.—With respect to Corsica I shall only say, that France has obtained a more useful and important acquisition in one *Pacific Campaign*, than in any of her *Belligerent Campaigns*; at least while I had the honour of administering the war against her. The word may, perhaps, be thought singular: I mean only while I was Minister, chiefly entrusted with the conduct of the war. I remember, my Lords, the time when Lorrain was united to the Crown of France, that too was, in some measure, a pacific conquest; and there were people who talked of it, as the noble Duke now speaks of Corsica. France was permitted to take and keep possession of a noble province; and according to his Grace's ideas, we did right in not opposing it. The effect of these acquisitions, is, I confess, not immediate; but they unite with the main body by degrees, and in time, make a part of the national strength. I fear, my Lords, it is too much the temper of this country, to be insensible of the approach of danger, until it comes with accumulated terror upon us.

My Lords, the condition of his Majesty's affairs in Ireland, and the state of that kingdom within itself, will undoubtedly make a very material part of your Lordships enquiry. I am not sufficiently informed to enter into the subject so fully as I could wish; but what appears to the public and my own observation, I confess I cannot give the ministry much credit for the spirit or prudence of their conduct. I see that even where their measures are well chosen, they are incapable of carrying them through without some unhappy mixture of weakness or imprudence. They are incapable of doing entirely right. My Lords, I do from my conscience, and from the best weighed principles of my understanding, applaud the augmentation of the army. As a military plan, I believe, it has been judiciously arranged. In a political view, I am convinced it was for the welfare, for the safety of the whole empire. But, my Lords, with all these advantages, with all these recommendations, if I had the honour of advising his Majesty, I would never have consented to his accepting the augmentation, with that absurd dishonourable condition, which the ministry have submitted to annex to it. My Lords, I revere the
just

just prerogative of the crown, and would contend for it as warmly as for the rights of the people. They are linked together, and naturally support each other. I would not touch a feather of the prerogative. The expression, perhaps, is too light; but, since I have made use of it, let me add, that the intire command and power of directing the local disposition of the army is the royal prerogative, as the master feather in the eagle's wing; and if I were permitted to carry the allusion a little farther, I would say they have disarmed the imperial bird, the "*Ministrum Fulminis Alitem.*" The army is the thunder of the crown----The ministry have tied up the hand which should direct the bolt.

My Lords, I remember that Minorca was lost for want of four battalions. They could not be spared from hence; and there was a delicacy about taking them from Ireland. I was one of those, who promoted an inquiry into that matter in the other house; and I was convinced we had not regular troops sufficient for the necessary service of the nation. Since the moment the plan of augmentation was first talked of, I have constantly and warmly supported it among my friends: I have recommended it to several members of the Irish House of Commons, and exhorted them to support it with their utmost interest in parliament. I did not foresee, nor could I conceive it possible, the ministry would accept of it, with a condition that makes the plan itself ineffectual, and as far as it operates, defeats every useful purpose of maintaining a standing military force. His Majesty is now so confined by his promise, that he must leave twelve thousand men locked up in Ireland, let the situation of his affairs abroad, or the approach of danger to this country, be ever so alarming, unless there be an actual rebellion, or invasion, in Great Britain. Even in the two cases, excepted by the king's promise, the mischief must have already begun to operate, must have already taken effect, before his Majesty can be authorized to send for the assistance of his Irish army. He has not left himself the power of taking any preventive measures, let his intelligence be ever so certain, let his apprehensions of invasion or rebellion be ever so well founded: unless

less the traitor be actually in arms, unless the enemy be in the heart of your country, he cannot move a single man from Ireland*.

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I feel myself compelled, my Lords, to return to that subject which occupies and interests me most; I mean the internal disorder of the Constitution, and the remedy it demands. But first, I would observe there is one point upon which I think the noble Duke has not explained himself. I do not mean to catch at words, but if possible to possess the sense of what I hear. I would treat every man with candour, and should expect the same candour in return. For the noble Duke, in particular, I have every personal respect and regard. I never desire to understand him, but as he wishes to be understood. His Grace, I think, has laid much stress upon the diligence of the several

* The following is an extract of the Lord Lieutenant's message to the House of Commons of Ireland upon this occasion.

TOWNSHEND. *Gentlemen*, " I am commanded by his Majesty, to acquaint you, that His Majesty upon the most mature consideration of the state and circumstances of this kingdom, judges it absolutely necessary that a number of troops, not less than twelve thousand men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, should be kept therein for the better defence of the same; and that his Majesty, finding that consistent with the general public service, the number before-mentioned cannot be constantly continued in Ireland, unless his army upon the Irish establishment be augmented to 15,235 men in the whole, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included; His Majesty earnestly recommends it to his faithful Commons to concur in a measure, which His Majesty has extremely at heart, as necessary not only for the honor and dignity of His crown, but the peace and security of this kingdom. And I have his Majesty's special commands to assure you expressly in his Majesty's name, that it is his determined resolution, that upon such augmentation, a number of effective troops, not less than 12,000 men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, shall, at all times, except in cases of invasion or rebellion in Great Britain, be kept within this kingdom for the better defence thereof." Lord CHATHAM's reasoning on the present message, is certainly right, for if the English ministry were to determine upon the necessity of sending for troops from Ireland, according to their own apprehensions or intelligence, the condition, with respect to Ireland, would be nugatory.

public offices, and the assistance given them by the Administration, in preparing a state of the expences of his Majesty's civil government for the information of Parliament, and for the satisfaction of the public. He has given us a number of plausible reasons for their not having yet been able to finish the account; but, as far as I am able to recollect, he has not yet given us the smallest reason to hope, that it ever will be finished; or that it ever will be laid before Parliament.

My Lords, I am not unpractised in business, and if, with all that apparent diligence, and all that assistance, which the noble Duke speaks of, the accounts in question have not yet been made up, I am convinced there must be a defect in some of the public offices, which ought to be strictly enquired into, and severely punished. But my Lords, the waste of the public money is not of itself so important as the pernicious purpose, to which we have reason to suspect that money has been applied. For some years past there has been an influx of wealth into this country, which has been attended with many fatal consequences, because it has not been the regular, natural produce of labour and industry. The riches of Asia have been poured in upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but I fear, Asiatic principles of government. Without connexions, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold, have forced their way into Parliament, by such a torrent of private corruption, as no private hereditary fortune could resist. My Lords, I say nothing but what is within the knowledge of us all. The corruption of the people is the great original cause of the discontents of the people themselves, of the enterprises of the Crown, and the notorious decay of the internal vigour of the Constitution. For this great evil some immediate remedy must be provided; and I confess, my Lords, I did hope, that his Majesty's servants would not have suffered so many years of peace to elapse, without paying some attention to an object, which ought to engage and interest us all. I flattered myself I should see some barriers thrown up in defence of the Constitution, some impediment formed to stop the rapid progress of corruption. I doubt not we all agree that something must be done. I shall offer my own thoughts, such as they are, to the consideration of the House; and I wish that every noble Lord
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who hears me, would be as ready as I am, to contribute his opinion to this important service. I will not call my own sentiments crude and indigested. It would be unfit for me to offer any thing to your Lordships, which I had not well considered; and this subject I own has long occupied my thoughts. I will now give them to your Lordships, without reserve.

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Whoever understands the theory of the English Constitution, and will compare it with the fact, must see at once how widely they differ. We must reconcile them to each other, if we wish to save the liberties of this country. We must reduce our political practice, as nearly as possible to our political principles. The Constitution intended that there should be a permanent relation between the constituent and representative body of the people. Will any man affirm, that, as the House of Commons is now formed, that relation is in any degree preserved? My Lords, it is not preserved; it is destroyed. Let us be cautious, however, how we have recourse to violent expedients.

The boroughs of this country have properly enough been called the rotten parts of the Constitution. I have lived in Cornwall, and without entering into an invidious particularity, have seen enough to justify the appellation. But in my judgment, my Lords, these boroughs, corrupt as they are, must be considered as the natural infirmity of the Constitution. Like the infirmities of the body, we must bear them with patience, and submit to carry them about with us. The limb is mortified, but the amputation might be death.

Let us try, my Lords, whether some gentler remedies may not be discovered. Since we cannot cure the disorder, let us endeavour to infuse such a portion of new health into the Constitution, as may enable it to support its most inveterate diseases.

The representation of the counties is, I think, still preserved pure and uncorrupted. That of the great cities is upon a footing equally respectable; and there are many of the larger trading towns, which still preserve their independence. The infusion of health which I now allude to, would be to permit every county to elect one member more, in addition to their present representation. The knights of the shires approach nearest to the Constitutional representation

tation of the country, because they represent the soil. It is not in the little dependent boroughs, it is in the great cities and counties that the strength and vigour of the Constitution resides, and by them alone, if an unhappy question should ever arise, will the Constitution be honestly and firmly defended. It would encrease that strength, because I think it is the only security we have against the profligacy of the times, the corruption of the people, and the ambition of the crown.

I think I have weighed every possible objection that can be raised against a plan of this nature; and I confess I see but one, which to me, carries any appearance of solidity. It may be said perhaps, that when the act passed for uniting the two kingdoms, the number of persons who were to represent the whole nation in Parliament was proportioned and fixed on for ever—That this limitation is a fundamental article, and cannot be altered without hazarding a dissolution of the Union.

My Lords, no man who hears me can have a greater reverence for that wise and important act, than I have. I revere the memory of that great Prince, who first formed the plan, and of those illustrious patriots, who carried it into execution. As a contract, every article of it should be inviolable. As the common basis of the strength and happiness of two nations, every article of it should be sacred. I hope I cannot be suspected of conceiving a thought so detestable, as to propose an advantage to one of the contracting parties at the expence of the other. No, my Lords, I mean that the benefit should be universal, and the consent to receive it unanimous. Nothing less than a most urgent and important occasion should persuade me to vary even from the letter of the act; but there is no occasion, however urgent, however important, that should ever induce me to depart from the spirit of it. Let that spirit be religiously preserved. Let us follow the principle upon which the representation of the two countries was proportioned at the Union: and when we increase the number of representatives for the English counties, let the shires of Scotland be allowed an equal privilege. On these terms, and while the proportion limited by the union is preserved between the two nations, I apprehend that no man, who is a friend to either, will object to an alteration, so necessary for the security of both. I do not speak of the authority of
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the Legislature to carry such a measure into effect, because I imagine no man will dispute it. But I would not wish the legislature to interpose by an exertion of its power alone, without the chearful concurrence of all parties. My object is the happiness and security of the two nations, and I would not wish to obtain it without their mutual consent.

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My Lords, besides my warm approbation of the motion made by the noble Lord, I have a particular and personal pleasure in rising up to second it. I consider my seconding his Lordship's motion, and I would wish it to be considered by others, as a public demonstration of that cordial union which I am happy to affirm subsists between us—of my attachment to those principles which he has so well defended, and of my respect for his person. There has been a time, my Lords, when those who wished well to neither of us, who wished to see us separated for ever, found a sufficient gratification for their malignity against us both. But that time is happily at an end. The friends of this country will, I doubt not, hear with pleasure, that the noble Lord and his friends, are now united with me and mine, upon a principle which I trust will make our union indissoluble. It is not to possess, or divide, the emoluments of government; but, if possible, to save the state. Upon this ground we met—upon this ground we stand, firm and inseparable. No ministerial artifices, no private offers, no secret seduction, can divide us. United as we are, we can set the profoundest policy of the present ministry, their grand, their only arcanum of government, their *divide et impera*, at defiance.

I hope an early day will be agreed to for considering the state of the nation. My infirmities must fall heavily upon me indeed, if I do not attend my duty that day. When I consider my age, and unhappy state of health, I feel how little I am personally interested in the event of any political question. But I look forward to others, and am determined, as far as my poor ability extends, to convey to those who come after me, the blessings which I cannot long hope to enjoy myself.

The House agreed to fixing the twenty-fourth day of January, for taking into consideration the state of the nation.

But

But at that time there being no Lord Chancellor, the motion was adjourned to the second of February.----On the twenty-ninth of January, four days previous to the next debate, the Duke of GRAFTON resigned. The want of a Lord Chancellor determined his Grace to quit this situation. Even this resignation, added to the many others which had preceded it, had no effect upon the Court. The resolution of the private or confidential cabinet, was still to *persevere*---to rely upon the power of the Crown---and if that was not sufficient, to depend upon the army. The Duke of GRAFTON's place was given to Lord NORTH: he was now First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Minister of the House of Commons. The Great Seal was put into commission, having been refused by Lord MANSFIELD, and others.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Lord Chatbam's Speech on the Decision of the House of Commons on the Middlesex Election—His Speech on Secret Influence—On the Civil List, and Dismission of Lord Camden—Fact concerning Queen Anne's Civil List—Mr. Grenville's Election Bill.

ON the second day of February, 1770, the House of Lords being in a committee on the state of the nation, Lord ROCKINGHAM moved, That the House of Commons in the exercise of its judicature in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of parliament, which is part thereof.

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The Earl of SANDWICH opposed the motion; and Lord CHATHAM replied to Lord SANDWICH.

Lord CHATHAM began with observing, that the noble Lord had been very adroit in referring to the journals, and in collecting every circumstance that might assist his argument. Though my long and almost continued infirmities, have denied me the hour of ease to obtain these benefits, yet, without the assistance of the journals, or other collaterals, I can reply to both the precedents which his Lordship has produced.

Speech on the
Middlesex
election.

I will readily allow the facts to be as the noble Earl has stated them, viz. That LIONEL, Earl of MIDDLESEX, as well as Lord BACON, were both, for certain crimes and misdemeanors, expelled this house, and incapacitated from ever sitting here; without occasioning any interference from the other branches of the legislature.

Neither of these cases bear any analogy to the present case. They affected only themselves. The rights of no constituent body were affected by them. It is not the *person* of Mr. WILKES that is complained of. As an individual he is personally out of the dispute. The cause of complaint, the great cause, is the inherent rights and fran-

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franchises of the people are, in his case, invaded, trampled upon, and annihilated. Lord BACON and Lord MIDDLESEX represented no county, or city. The rights of no freeholder, the franchises of no elector, were destroyed by their expulsion. The cases are as widely different as north from south. But I will allow the noble Earl a succedaneum to his argument, which, probably, he has not, as yet, thought of. I will suppose he argues, "that whatever authority gives a seat to a Peer, it is, at least, equally as respectable as to a Commoner, and that both in expulsion and incapacitation the injury is directly the same:"---Granted; and I will further allow, that if Mr. WILKES had not been *re-elected* by the people, the first expulsion, I believe, would be efficient. Therefore, my Lords, this comparison ceases; for, except these noble Lords mentioned, had received a fresh title, either by birth or patent, they could not possibly have any claim after the first expulsion. The noble Lord asks, "How came this doctrine to be broached?" And adds, "Who should be more tenacious of their liberties and privileges than the Members themselves?" In respect to the latter part of this question I agree none should be so proper as themselves to protect their own rights and privileges; and I sincerely lament that they have, by their recent conduct, so far forgot what those privileges are, that they have added to the long list of venality from *Esau* to the present day. In regard to the first part, "How came this doctrine to be broached;" I must tell the noble Lord it is as old as the constitution itself; the liberties of the people in the original distribution of government, being the first thing provided for; and in the case of Mr. WILKES, though we have not instances as numerous as in other cases, yet it is, by no means, the less constitutional; like a comet in the firmament, which, however it may dazzle and surprise the vulgar and untutored, by the infrequency of its appearance, the philosopher, versed in astronomic science, it affects no more than any other common process of nature, being perfectly simple, and to him perfectly intelligible. Need I remind you, my Lords, at this period, of that common school-boy position, "that the constitution of this country depends upon King, Lords, and Commons, and that each by their power are a balance to the

the other." If this is not the case, why were the three estates constituted? Why should it be necessary before an act of parliament takes place, that their mutual concurrence should be had. My Lords, I am ashamed to trudge in this common track of argument; and have no apology to make, but that I have been drawn into it by the noble Lord's asserting, "We had no right to interfere with the privileges of the other House."

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The noble Earl has been very exact in his calculation of the proportion of persons who have petitioned; and did the affair rest, merely, on *this* calculation, his argument would be unanswerable; but will he consider what numbers, whose private sentiments felt all the rigour of parliamentary proceedings, but for want of a few principals to call them together, and collect their opinions, have never reached the ear of their sovereign. If we add to this number, the interest made use of on the side of government, to suppress all petitions, with the authority that place-men have necessarily over their dependents, it is very surprising, that out of forty counties, thirteen had spirit and independence sufficient to stem such a tide of venality. But I will suppose that this was not the case, that no undue influence was made use of, and that hence but one third of the people think themselves aggrieved; are numbers to constitute right? are not the laws of the land fixed and unalterable? and is not this proceeding complained of, or any other, (supported even but by one) to be tried, and adjudged by these laws? Therefore, however the noble Lord may excel in the doctrine of calculation, as a speculative matter, it can by no means serve him, urged in the course of argument.

Let us not then, my Lords, be deaf to the alarms of the people, when these alarms are founded on the infringement of their rights. Let us not sit neuter and inattentive to the proceedings of the other House. We are, equally with that House, entrusted with the people's rights, and we cannot conscientiously discharge our duties, without our interference, whenever we find those rights, in any part of the constitution, trampled on.

I have, my Lords, trespassed on your patience, at this late hour of the night, when the length of this debate must have fatigued your

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Lordships considerably. But I cannot apologize in a case so deeply interesting to the nation—no time can be too long—no time can be lost—no hardships can be complained of.

He condemned the conduct of the House of Commons in terms of asperity. He denominated the vote of that House, which had made Col. LUTTRELL representative for Middlesex, a gross invasion of the Rights of Election—a dangerous violation of the English Constitution—a treacherous surrender of the invaluable privilege of a freehold, and a corrupt sacrifice of their own honour. They had stript the statute book of its brightest ornaments, to gild the wings, not of prerogative, but of unprincipled faction and lawless domination. To gratify the resentments of some individuals, the laws had been despised, trampled upon, and destroyed—those laws, which had been made by the stern virtue of their ancestors, the iron barons of old, to whom we were indebted for all the blessings of our present Constitution; to whose virtue and whose blood, to whose spirit in the hour of contest, and to whose tenderness in the triumph of victory, the filken barons of this day, owe their honours and their seats, and both Houses of Parliament owe their continuance. These measures, he said, made a part of that unhappy system, which had been formed in the present reign, with a view to *new model* the Constitution, as well as the Government. These measures originated, he would not say, with his Majesty's knowledge, but in his Majesty's Councils. The Commons had slavishly obeyed the commands of his Majesty's servants, and had thereby exhibited, and proved to the conviction of every man, what might have been only matter of suspicion before—that *Ministers held a corrupt influence in Parliament*—it was demonstrable—it was indisputable. It was therefore particularly necessary for their Lordships, at this critical and alarming period, so full of jealousy and apprehension, to step forwards, and oppose themselves, on the one hand, to the justly incensed, and perhaps speedy intemperate rage of the people; and on the other, to the criminal and malignant conduct of his Majesty's Ministers: that they might prevent licentiousness on the one side, and depredation on the other. Their Lordships were the constitutional barrier between the extremes of liberty and prerogative.

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The House being in a Committee, the question was put, Whether the Speaker should resume the chair? which was decided in the affirmative by a great majority.

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The question being now got rid of, and notwithstanding it was past twelve o'clock the Earl of MARCHMONT made the following motion:

"That any resolution of this House, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the Constitutional right of the Commons, tends to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament, and leads to a general confusion."

* "It should seem that the Scotch kept this motion in their pockets; and that they reserved themselves for it; as neither the Earl of MARCHMONT, who made it, nor Lord MANSFIELD, who supported it, opened their mouths till now; when they both spoke with great vigour. The Earl of MARCHMONT threw out, by way of menace to the Opposition, that if they went one step further, they would justify the necessity of calling in foreign assistance. The Duke of RICHMOND called him to order, and asked for an explanation of the words *foreign assistance*. But he *shuffled* it off. Lord MANSFIELD, in a long speech, insisted, that their Lordships had no right to interfere in any determination of the Commons. The Earl of EGDMONT said the late petitions were highly censurable, that the people had no right to present such petitions, for that they were treasonable.—The Earl of CHATHAM thanked him for his *lenity*, in permitting the petitioners to have their heads on one day longer: and said, the petitions were laudable and constitutional; and the right of the people, to present them, undoubted. He then replied to Lord MANSFIELD, and shewed the necessity of the House of Lords interfering, in case of an invasion of the people's liberties, or an unconstitutional determination of the House of Commons; and he affirmed, that the case of the county of Middlesex fell under both those denominations. Then he conjured

* From the London Museum, vol. 1, page 190. It is not known, that any other account of *this* debate was taken.

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them, by the noble blood which had run for so many ages in their veins and by the noble struggles of their ancestors in behalf of liberty, not to behold with indifference a transaction so alarming; and modestly said of himself, for his own part, he was hardly warm in his seat. He quoted Lord SOMERS and Chief Justice HOLT, in support of his law: and drew their characters very finely. He called them *honest men*, who knew and loved the English Constitution. Then turning to Lord MANSFIELD, he said, I vow to God I think the noble Lord equals them both---*in abilities*. Towards the conclusion he complained strongly of the motion's being *sudden*, and made at midnight, and pressed the necessity of an adjournment of only *two days*. He said, among other things, if the Constitution must be wounded, let it not receive its mortal stab at this dark and midnight hour, when honest men are asleep in their beds, and when only felons and assassins are seeking for prey."

At half past one in the morning the question was put, and decided in the affirmative.

On the second day of March 1770, a motion was made in the House of Lords by Lord CRAVEN, for an Address to the King, requesting his Majesty would put his Royal Navy on such a footing as to secure respect to his Crown, and protection to the trade of his subjects.

Speech on
Secret Influence

On this occasion Lord CHATHAM condemned the conduct of his Majesty's servants, in almost every particular. He complained strongly of the secret influence of the Earl of BUTE, which he affirmed still continued, and which had prevented there having been any original Minister since the accession of his present Majesty. The Duke of GRAFTON took this to himself, and said he did not know what the noble Earl meant, by there having been no original Minister; he could take upon him to say, that while he was in office he was as much Minister as any man could be. Lord CHATHAM scouted the idea of the noble Duke's having been Minister, and seemed to laugh at his presumption in having thought himself so. He said, he spoke of the secret influence of an invisible power;---of a Favourite, whose pernicious counsels had occasioned all the present unhappiness and disturbances

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in the nation; and who, notwithstanding he was abroad, was at this moment as potent as ever; that he had ruined every plan for the public good, and betrayed every man who had taken a responsible office; that there was no safety, no security against his power and malignity: that he himself had been duped, he confessed it with sorrow; that he had been duped when he least suspected treachery, at a time when the prospect was fair, and when the appearances of confidence were strong; in particular, at the time when he was taken ill, and obliged to go to Bath for a short week; he had before he set out, formed, with great pains, attention and deliberation, schemes highly interesting and of the utmost importance to this country; schemes which had been approved in Council, and to which the King himself had given his consent. But when he returned, he found his plans were all vanished into thin air.

The House of Savoy, continued he, has produced a race of illustrious Princes; notwithstanding which it must be confessed, that the Court of Turin sold you to the Court of France in the last peace.—When I was earnestly called upon for the public service, I came from Somersetshire with wings of zeal. I consented to preserve a peace which I abominated; a peace I would not make, but would preserve when made. I undertook to support a Government by law; but to shield no man from public justice. These terms were accepted, I thought with sincerity accepted. I own I was credulous, I was duped, I was deceived; for I soon found that there was no ORIGINAL Administration to be suffered in this country. The same secret invisible influence still prevailed, which had put an end to all the successive Administrations as soon as they opposed or declined to act under it.

Here the Duke of GRAFTON rose again, and said, I rise to defend the King; though if I understand rightly the words which have been spoken, they are only the effects of a distempered mind brooding over its own discontent.

To which Lord CHATHAM replied, I rise neither to deny, to retract, nor to explain away the words I have spoken. As for his Majesty, I always found every thing gracious and amiable in the Closet; so amiably condescending as to *promise* in every repeated audience not
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only to forgive, but to supply the defects of health by his chearful support, and by the ready assistance of all his immediate dependants, &c. Instead of this, all the obstacles and difficulties which attended every great and public measure, did not arise from those out of Government: they were suggested, nourished and supported by that secret influence I have mentioned, and by the industry of those very dependants: first by secret treachery; then by official influence; afterwards in public Councils. A long train of these practices has at length unwillingly convinced me, that there is something behind the Throne greater than the King himself. As to the noble Duke, there was in his conduct, from the time of my being taken ill, a gradual deviation from every thing that had been settled and solemnly agreed to by his Grace, both as to measures and men; 'till at last there were not left two planks together of the ship which had been originally launched. As to a distempered mind, I have a drawer full of proofs, that my principles have never given way to any disease; and that I have always had sufficient vigour of mind remaining to support them, and consequently to avoid all those snares, which from time to time have been so artfully laid to take advantage of my state of health; his Grace can witness better than any other man, because he has himself the letters which sufficiently prove it*

The motion was negatived.

On the sixteenth day of March, a motion was made, to appoint a Committee to enquire into the state and expenditure of the Civil List.

Lord CHATHAM spoke in support of the motion. He said the Civil List was appropriated in the first instance to the support of the Civil Government, and in the next to the honour and dignity of the Crown; in every other respect, the minute and particular expences of the Civil List are as open to Parliamentary examination, and enquiry, in regard to the application and abuse, as any other grant of the people, to any other purpose: and Ministers are equally or more culpable for incurring any unprovided expence, and for running in arrears this service, as for any other. The preambles of the Civil List acts prove this: and

* This speech is also copied from the London Museum, vol. 1. page 248.

none but children, novices, or ignorants, will ever act without proper regard to it: and therefore, I can never consent to encrease fraudulently the Civil Establishment, under pretence of making up deficiencies; nor will I bid so high for Royal favour; and the Minister who is bold enough to spend the people's money, before it is granted, (even though it were not for the purpose of corrupting their representatives) and thereby leaving the people of England no other alternative, but either to disgrace their Sovereign, by not paying his debts, or to become the prey of every unthrifty or corrupt Minister, such Minister deserves death.

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The late good old King had something of humanity, and amongst many other royal and manly virtues, he possessed justice, truth, and sincerity, in an eminent degree; so that he had something about him, by which it was possible for you to know whether he liked you or disliked you.

I have been told that I have a pension, and that I have recommended others to pensions. It is true; and here is a list of them: you will find there the names of General AMHERST, Sir EDWARD HAWKE, and several others of the same nature; they were given as rewards for real services, and as encouragement to other gallant heroes. They were honourably earned in a different sort of campaigns than those at Westminster; they were gained by actions full of danger to themselves, of glory and benefit to this nation; not by corrupt votes of baseness and destruction to their country.

You will find no secret services there; and you will find, that when the warrior was recompensed, the Member of Parliament was left free. You will likewise find a pension of 1500l. a year to Lord CAMDEN. I recommended his Lordship to be Chancellor; his public and private virtues were acknowledged by all; they made his station more precarious. I could not reasonably expect from him, that he would quit the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas, which he held for life, and put himself in the power of those who were not to be trusted, to be dismissed from the Chancery, perhaps the day after his appointment. The public has not been deceived by his conduct. My suspicions have been justified. His integrity has made him once more
a poor

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a poor and a private man; he was dismissed for the vote he gave in favour of the right of election in the people.

Here Lord MARCHMONT, who lately talked of foreign force, called Lord CHATHAM to order. Some Lords called out "to the bar, to the bar!" Lord MARCHMONT moved, that Lord CHATHAM's words should be taken down.

Lord CHATHAM seconded the motion, and added, I neither deny, retract, nor explain these words. I do re-affirm the fact, and I desire to meet the sense of the House; I appeal to the honour of every Lord in this House, whether he has not the same conviction.

Lord ROCKINGHAM, Lord TEMPLE, and many other Lords, did upon their honour affirm the same.

Lord SANDWICH and Lord WEYMOUTH would have withdrawn the motion; but Lord MARCHMONT, encouraged by Lord MANSFIELD, persisted, and moved, that nothing had appeared to justify such an assertion.

Lord CHATHAM. My words remain unretracted, unexplained, and re-affirmed. I desire to know whether I am condemned or acquitted; and whether I may still presume to hold up my head as high as the noble Lord, who moved to have my words taken down.

To this no answer was given.

Lord CHATHAM was reproached with having recommended the Duke of GRAFTON; and that he had forced his Grace on the King as his first Minister.

Lord CHATHAM replied, I advised his Majesty to take the Duke of GRAFTON as First Lord of the Treasury, but there is such a thing as time as well as tide; and the conduct of the noble Duke has convinced me, that I am as likely to be deceived as any other man, and as fallible as my betters. It was an expression of that great Minister Sir R. WALPOLE, upon a debate on the army in the year 1737, "those who gave the power of blood, gave blood." I will beg leave to parodize the expression, and say, those who gave the means of corruption, gave corruption. *I will trust no Sovereign in the world with the means of purchasing the liberties of the people.* When I had the honour of being the confidential keeper of the King's intention, he assured me, that he never intended

~~tended to exceed the allowance~~ which was made by Parliament; and therefore, my Lords, at a time when there are no marks of personal dissipation in our King, at a time when there are no marks of any considerable sums having been expended to procure the secrets of our enemies; that a request of an enquiry into the expenditure of the Civil List should be refused, is to me most extraordinary. Does the King of England want to build a palace equal to his rank and dignity? Does he want to encourage the polite and useful arts? Does he mean to reward the hardy veteran, who has defended his quarrel in many a rough campaign, whose salary does not equal that of some of your servants? Or does he mean, by drawing the purse-strings of his subjects, to spread corruption through the people, to procure a Parliament, like a packed jury, ready to acquit his Ministers at all adventures. I do not say, my Lords, that corruption lies *here*, or that corruption lies *there*; but if any gentleman in England were to ask me, whether I thought both Houses of Parliament were bribed, *I should laugh in his face*, and say, "Sir, it is not so." My Lords, from all that has been said, I think it must appear, that an enquiry into the state and expenditure of the Civil List revenue is expedient, proper and just; a refusal of it at this time will only add ridicule to disgrace, and folly to enormity.

The motion was negatived.

On this subject of the Civil List, it cannot be improper to shew the falsity of a compliment paid by *Boyer, Tindal, Smollet, Goldsmith*, and other writers, and even by some Members of former Parliaments, in their speeches, when it has suited their purpose, to the late Queen ANNE. They say, that for four years, she gave one hundred thousand pounds per annum, out of her Civil List, towards carrying on the war against France; and from hence they deduce an argument, of the œconomy and patriotism of that Princess. If the assertion had been true, the argument, might have passed without notice. But when a compliment of this sort is paid, at the expence of truth, and of the nation,

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Queen Ann's
Civil List.

it is presumed, that it will not be thought improper to state the Fact, for the information of those, who have not the Journals of Parliament, and other documents in their possession.

In fact, this pretended generosity was one of the most scandalous actions that the Crown ever committed by any Administration. It was a manifest and gross cheat upon the Public, who were extravagant losers by it; for some time after, viz. upon the 25th of June 1713, the Queen acquainted the House of Commons, by message, that she had contracted a very large debt upon her Civil List revenues, which she was unable to pay, and therefore desired to make them good; and such was the complaisance of a Tory Parliament, that notwithstanding the detestation which must have arisen in every honest breast, upon the detection of this clumsy juggle, and though Mr. SMITH, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer §, honestly informed the House, that the estimate of this debt was astonishing to him, being made to amount to August 1710, to 400,000*l.* Whereas, he was able to affirm from his own knowledge, that it amounted at that time to little more than 100,000*l.* and though many others undertook to prove, that the funds given for 700,000*l.* had, in reality, amounted to 800,000*l.*; and though these gentlemen had prevailed so far as to procure an address to the Crown for an account of the Civil List debt at Midsummer 1713, and for a yearly account of the net produce of the Civil List revenue, no regard was paid to this information, nor to this address; none of these accounts were ever permitted to be laid before the House, and upon the very next day they voted

§ The Tellers of the Exchequer were at that time Members of Parliament.

no less a sum than 500,000*l.* for this service.—This is the truth, and the whole truth, of that generous exploit of the daughter of King JAMES II. It was a mean trick, by which the nation was cheated of 400,000*l.*—This Queen had as many private vices, and as few public virtues, as any Prince who has filled the British Throne since the House of TUDOR.

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On the fifth day of April, Mr. GRENVILLE's Bill for trying Controverted Elections, was brought from the House of Commons by Mr. GRENVILLE, attended by one hundred Members.

Lord CHATHAM supported the Bill, and passed some very elegant encomiums upon it. He then said, That as he had begun his life out of a Court, he hoped he should end it out of a Court. He had no view of interest. All he meant was to rouse his country to a just sense of the blessings of this Constitution. Then he desired that the House might be summoned after the Holidays, for he designed to bring in a Bill to reverse the proceedings of the House of Commons on the Middlesex Election. He declared, that his intention by this Bill, was to give the people a strong and thorough sense of the great violation of the Constitution, by those unjust and arbitrary proceedings.

Mr. Grenville's
Election Bill.

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Lord Chatham's Bill on the Middlesex Election, and Speech in Support of the Bill—Lord Chatham's Motion, and Speech, on the King's Answer to a Petition from the City of London---His Motion for a Dissolution of Parliament---Some Heads of a Speech on Representation----His Letter to Lord Temple on that Subject----Goes into Somersetshire.

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Bill on the
Middlesex
Election.

ON the first day of May, 1770, the Earl of CHATHAM presented to the House a Bill, intituled,

A Bill for reversing the adjudications of the House of Commons, whereby JOHN WILKES, Esq; has been adjudged incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament, and the freeholders of the county of Middlesex have been deprived of one of their legal representatives.

The said Bill was read the first time.

The following is an accurate copy of the Bill.

A Bill for reversing the Adjudications of the House of Commons, whereby John Wilkes, Esq; has been adjudged incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament, and the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex have been deprived of one of their legal Representatives.

WHEREAS the capacity of being elected a Representative of the Commons in Parliament (is under [known limitations of law) an original inherent right of the subject; and forasmuch as to deprive the subject of this high franchise and birth-right, otherwise than by a judgment according to the law of the land, and the constant established usage of Parliament conformable thereto, and part thereof, is directly con-

contrary to the fundamental laws and freedom of this realm, and in particular to the act, "declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown," at the ever-memorable period of the Revolution; when free election of Members of Parliament was expressly vindicated and secured.

And whereas JOHN WILKES, Esq; having been duly elected and returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex, was, on the 17th of February, 1769, without being heard, adjudged incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament, by a resolution of the House of Commons, as follows:

"Resolved,

"That JOHN WILKES, Esq; having been in this session of Parliament expelled this House, was and is incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament."

And whereas on the same day the said House of Commons farther resolved as follows: "That the late election of a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex is a void election:"

And whereas the said JOHN WILKES, Esq; having been again duly elected and returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex, the said House of Commons did, on the 17th of March, 1769, resolve in the words following: "That the election and return of JOHN WILKES, Esq; who hath been by this House adjudged incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament, are null and void:"

And whereas the said JOHN WILKES, Esq; having been again duly elected and returned a knight of the shire to serve in the present Parliament for the county of Middlesex aforesaid, and having on the original poll-books, eleven hundred and forty-three votes in his favour, against two hundred and ninety-six, in favour of HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL, Esq; the House of Commons did, on the 15th of April, 1769, without a hearing of parties, and in manifest violation of the indubitable right of the Freeholders of the county of Middlesex to chuse their representatives in Parliament, resolve as follows:

That

That HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL, Esq; ought to have been returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex, and thereupon ordered the said return to be amended accordingly ;”

And whereas, by another resolution, of the 8th of May, 1769, the said House of Commons did, upon hearing the matter of the petition of the Freeholders of the county of Middlesex, as far as the same related to the election of HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL, farther resolve as follows :

“ That HENRY LAWES LUTTRELL, Esq; is duly elected a knight of the shire to serve in this present Parliament for the county of Middlesex.”

And forasmuch as all the resolutions aforesaid, cutting off the subject from his indubitable birth-right, by a vote of one House of Parliament, exercising discretionary power and legislative authority, under colour of a jurisdiction in elections, are most arbitrary, illegal, and dangerous.

Be it therefore declared and enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, ‘ That all the adjudications contained in the above-mentioned several resolutions are arbitrary and illegal, and the same are and shall be hereby reversed, annulled, and made void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.’

After the first reading of the said bill, it was moved,

Speech in support of the bill.

That the said bill be read a second time, on Thursday next ; which being warmly objected to by Lord DENBIGH, Lord CHATHAM replied, the noble Lord has been loud and violent against this motion. He seems to be very angry with the friends of this measure, but then he is angry *in such a sort*, that I am sure nobody can be angry with him ; I shall, therefore, wave replying to some reflections he has thrown out upon the faction, as he is pleased to call it, and take a short view of the cause of this motion. Here are 1143 legal, sworn Freeholders, vote a gentleman their Member of Parliament, against 296 who oppose him : with this apparent majority, he comes to take his seat so given him

him by the laws and constitution of his country. But what do the House of Commons? Why, they shut the door in his face, and by a new State-arithmetic, make 296 a greater number than 1143. Is not this, my Lords, flying in the face of all law and freedom? Is not this apparently robbing the Freeholders of their liberty, and making a mere farce of Englishmens' birth-rights? It is very true, the House of Commons had a right, if petitioned by Colonel LUTTRELL, to enquire minutely into the qualifications of his opponent's electors; to admit none as such, but those duly qualified by law; and after making these deductions, then determine the majority. But this has not been even attempted. The seat of the legal representative has been wrested from him, and a violent outrage has been committed, that strikes at every thing that is dear and sacred to the liberties of Englishmen.

It has been urged, my Lords, that there is no precedent for one House taking cognizance of the proceedings of the other. If my memory serves me right, I remember one nearly parallel, in the case of Titus Oates, where the Commons took cognizance of the proceedings of the Lords on that subject; so that it is no new thing for one House to be a check on the other, as it is not only established by precedent, but by the principles of our constitution.

It is said, my Lords, that the spirit of discontent has gone abroad—I should be surprised if it had not; for how can it be otherwise, when, to use a familiar expression, Colonel LUTTRELL sits in the lap of Mr. WILKES; when a corrupt House of Commons invert all law and order, and deny the just privilege the electors claim by the constitution of these kingdoms? Though I will not aid the voice of faction, I will aid the just complaints of the people; and while I have strength to crawl, I will exert the whole of my poor abilities in their honest efforts; and I here pledge myself to their cause, as I am convinced it is the cause of truth and justice.

I am afraid, my Lords, this measure has sprung too near the throne—I am sorry for it: but I hope his Majesty will soon open his eyes, and see it in all its deformity; (Here Lord Pomfret interrupted him, by calling to order) upon which Lord Chatham said, I do not retract my words—I esteem the King in his personal capacity, I
revere

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severe him in his political one; and on these principles I hope he will see it, and see it in such a light, that he will redress it, by the dissolution of a House that could adopt such a measure.

The motion to read the bill a second time was negatived.

Lord STAFFORD (then Lord GOWER) moved to reject the bill; upon which the Lords divided 89 for the motion, 43 against it.

Before the House adjourned. Lord CHATHAM desired their Lordships might be summoned for the fourth of May; for, said he, I have a motion of great importance to make relative to the King.

On the fourth day of May Lord CHATHAM moved the following resolution:

Motion on the
King's answer
to the City Pe-
tition.

“ That it is the opinion of this House, that the advice, inducing his Majesty to give the answer to a late Humble Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London, in Common-Hall, assembled, is of a most dangerous tendency; inasmuch as thereby, the exercise of the clearest rights of the subject; namely, to petition the King for Redress of Grievances; to complain of Violation of the Freedom of Election; to pray Dissolution of Parliament; to point out Mal-Practices in Administration; and to urge the Removal of Evil Ministers, has, under pretence of reproofing certain parts of the said Remonstrance and Petition, by the generality of *one* compendious word, CONTENTS, been indiscriminately checked with reprimand; and the afflicted Citizens of London have heard from the throne itself, that the *contents* of their Humble Address, Remonstrance and Petition, laying their *complaints* and *injuries* at the feet of the Sovereign, as *Father* of his people, *able* and *willing* to *redress* them, cannot but be considered by his Majesty, as disrespectful to himself, injurious to his Parliament, and irreconcilable to the Principles of the Constitution.”

This motion being regularly read by the Speaker, Lord CHATHAM went on, I am to consider, in consequence of this motion, what it was the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Livery of the city of London requested, in order to discover the causes they gave, by their requisition, for such an answer—an answer so harsh, that it exceeds every thing in the history of this country. They requested, my Lords, very humbly,

humbly, a Restoration of the Freedom of Election, a Dismission of unjust Servants, and a Dissolution of a Parliament that protected them; because they (the Citizens of London) were not, legally, represented by such. Now, my Lords, I do aver the truth of this petition; and I do likewise aver, that the Citizens of London, with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, have a right to petition, not only by Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights, but by a variety of Acts of Parliament, numerous as they are expressive. No particular part of the petition is replied to, but the whole of the *contents* are at once disposed of. 'That this Petition was disrespectful to himself (the King) injurious to his Parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the Constitution.' I am too well acquainted, my Lords, with his Majesty, to think him capable of giving such an answer---nor could he do it, with propriety, either in his regal or personal capacity. I must beg your patience, my Lords, to consider this a little more attentively: 'First, *Disrespectful to himself*.' How is a King to know this? Is he a judge what is disrespectful to him? No, my Lords; the laws are to determine this for him, the just interpreters of offences. 'Injurious to my Parliament!' How injurious to Parliament? when the very nature of part of the Petition, refers to that Freedom of Election in the People, by which *they* became a House of Judicature; 'Irreconcilable to the Principles of the Constitution,' when the very essence of the Constitution, not only *permits* but *requires* petitioning the Throne, and what the *Stuarts* never dared to prevent in the zenith of their power. I repeat again, my Lords, the King could never give such an answer from himself; and indeed, my Lords, poor as my opinion is of administration, I can hardly think it was a *joint official* advice, but the opinion of *one*, or a *confidential few*; for it is impossible, but if there were many, who were consulted upon this measure, some of them must see the absurdity of it.

When I mentioned the Livery of London, I thought I saw a sneer upon some faces; but let me tell you, my Lords, though I have the honour to sit in this House, as a Peer of the Realm, coinciding with these honest Citizens in opinion, I am proud of the honour of associating my name with theirs. And let me tell the noblest of you all,

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it would be an honour to you. The Livery of London, my Lords, were respectable long before the reformation: the Lord Mayor of London was a *Principal* among the twenty-five Barons who received Magna Charta from King John, and they have ever since been considered to have a principal weight in all the affairs of government. How then have these respectable characters been treated? They have been sent away *fore afflicted* from his Majesty's presence, and reprimanded for pursuing their undoubted rights.

The motion was negatived.

Motion to dissolve the Parliament.

On Representative.

On the fourteenth of May, Lord CHATHAM made a motion for an address to the King, to desire he would dissolve the present Parliament. He stated the public discontents in England, Ireland, and America: affirmed that the people had no confidence in the present House of Commons, who had betrayed their trust; and shewed, from the situation of public affairs, the great necessity of having a Parliament in whom the people can place a proper confidence! Instead of depriving a county of its representative, one or more members ought to be added to the representation of the counties; in order to operate as a balance, against the weight of the several corrupt and venal boroughs, which perhaps could not be lopped off entirely, without the hazard of a public convulsion. This was no crude suggestion: he repeated it afterwards in a letter to Lord TEMPLE: and as his opinion on this subject has been doubted, it will not be improper to state, in a note, the public use that was made of this letter*. All arguments were in vain. The Court Lords called for *the Question! the Question!* and put a negative upon it.

The

* KENNET MAYOR. A Common Council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Friday the seventh day of April, 1780. A Member presented to this Court an extract of a letter from the late Earl of CHATHAM to the late Earl TEMPLE, dated April 17, 1771, which was read, and ordered to be entered in the Journals of this Court, as follows:

“ Allow a speculator, in a great chair, to add, that a plan for more *equal Representation*, by additional *Knights of the Shire*, seems highly seasonable; and to shorten the *duration* of Parliaments not less so. If your Lordship should approve;

The session ended on the nineteenth of May.

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Lord CHATHAM retired into Somersetshire during the summer†.

prove, could Lord LYTTLETON's caution be brought to taste those ideas, we should take possession of strong ground, let who will decline to follow us. One line of men, I am assured, will zealously support, and a respectable weight of law. *Si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperti.*" Signed by order of the Court. RIX.

† In the month of June the Princess of Wales went to Germany, and returned in October following. At Canterbury, and other places, she met with many insults from the people.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Thanks of the City of London to Lord Chatham, and his Lordship's Answer—His Speech on the seizure of Falkland's Islands—Secret and interesting History of that memorable Negotiation.

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LORD CHATHAM's Parliamentary conduct during the last session of Parliament, was highly approved by the nation. The testimony of the approbation of the City of London, at this time deserves to be particularly noticed. It was as follows.

On the first day of June, a Committee of the Corporation of the City of London waited on his Lordship in Pall Mall, when Sir WILLIAM STEPHENSON, in the name of the Committee, addressed his Lordship to this effect :

Thanks of the
City of London
to Lord
Chatham.

" MY LORD,

" We have the pleasing satisfaction to deliver to your Lordship the grateful thanks of the citizens of London, for your Lordship's most eminent public services ; and we sincerely congratulate your Lordship on being equally distinguished in the direction of a glorious war, and in your endeavours to restore the principles of our most excellent Constitution."

And then he presented the thanks of the Common Council, which are as follow :

BECKFORD, MAYOR.

A Common Council, holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Monday, the 14th of May, 1770.

A motion was made, and question put, ' That the grateful thanks of this Court be presented to the Rt. Hon. WILLIAM Earl of CHATHAM, for

for the zeal he has shewn in support of those most valuable and sacred privileges, the right of election, and the right of petition; and for his wishes and declaration, that his endeavours shall hereafter be used, that Parliaments may be restored to their original purity, by shortening their duration, and introducing a more full and equal representation; an act which will render his name more honoured by posterity, than the memorable successes of the glorious war he conducted.' The same was resolved in the affirmative, and ordered accordingly.

It is ordered, That the said resolution be fairly transcribed, and signed by the Town Clerk, and presented to his Lordship by Sir Wm. Stephenson, Knt. Barlow Trecothick, Brafs Crosby, Esqrs. Aldermen, and James Towfend, Esq. Alderman, and one of the Sheriffs of this City; George Bellas, Esq. Mr. Deputy Thomas Cockfedge, Mr. Deputy William Judd, Samuel Freeman, Esq. Mr. Arthur Beardmore, Mr. James Sharp, Mr. Deputy Richard Townlend, and Mr. John Anderson, Commoners.

HODGES.

To which his Lordship was pleased immediately to reply:

" GENTLEMEN,

" It is not easy for me to give expression to all I feel, on the extraordinary honour done to my public conduct by the City of London; a body so highly respectable on every account; but above all, for their constant assertions of the birth-rights of Englishmen, in every great crisis of the Constitution.

His Lordship's
answer.

" In our present unhappy situation, my duty shall be on all proper occasions, to add the zealous endeavours of an individual to those legal exertions of Constitutional rights, which, to their everlasting honour, the City of London has made in defence of freedom of election, and freedom of petition, and for obtaining effectual reparation to the electors of Great Britain.

" As to one point among the declarations which I am understood to have made, of my wishes for the public, permit me to say there has been some misapprehension; for with all my deference to the sentiments of the City, I am bound to declare, that I cannot recommend
triennial

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triennial Parliaments as a remedy against that canker in the Constitution, venality in elections; ready to submit my opinion to better judgment, if the wish for that measure shall become prevalent in the kingdom.

“ Purity of Parliament is the corner-stone in the common-wealth; and as one obvious means towards this necessary end is to strengthen and extend the natural relation between the constituents and the elected, I have, in this view, publicly expressed my earnest wishes for a more full and equal representation, by the addition of one knight of the shire in a county, as a farther balance to the mercenary boroughs. I have thrown out this idea with the just diffidence of a private man, when he presumes to suggest any thing new on a high matter. Animated by your approbation, I shall with better hope continue humbly to submit it to the public wisdom, as an object to be most deliberately weighed, accurately examined, and maturely digested.

“ Having many times, when in the service of the Crown, and when retired from it, experienced, with gratitude, the favour of my fellow-citizens, I am now particularly fortunate that, with their good liking, I can offer any thing towards upholding this wisely-combined frame of mixed Government against the decays of time, and the deviations incident to all human institutions; and I shall esteem my life honoured indeed, if the City of London can vouchsafe to think that my endeavours have not been wanting to maintain the national honour, to defend the colonies, and extend the commercial greatness of my country, as well as to preserve from violation the law of the land, and the essential rights of the Constitution.”

On the thirteenth day of November 1770, Parliament met.

Motion on
Falkland's
islands.

About two months previous to the meeting of Parliament, an account arrived, of the Spaniards having seized upon Falkland's Islands. This act of hostility gave rise to a motion made by the Duke of RICHMOND, on the twenty-second day of November, To present an address to his Majesty, requesting his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give

give orders, that there be laid before the House copies or extracts of all letters and papers received by the Ministry between the 12th of September 1769, and the 12th of September 1770, containing any intelligence of hostilities commenced or intended to be commenced by the Court of Spain, or any of their officers, against any of his Majesty's dominions; and the times at which such intelligence was received.

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The motion was opposed by Lord WEYMOUTH, upon the general ground of the impropriety of their calling for such papers while the matter in question was the subject of a negotiation with the Spanish Ambassador. His Lordship carefully avoided giving the least light, or intimation whatsoever concerning the actual state, or progress of that negotiation, and expressed himself with caution, and reserve. He concluded with moving, That the previous question might be put.

The Duke of RICHMOND supported his motion by a train of facts, for the truth of which he repeatedly appealed to the Ministry themselves, and by a strength, and clearness of argument, which none of the other party even attempted to weaken or oppose. The main stress of his discourse seemed to rest upon the following facts; that on the third of last June, the *Tamur* sloop arrived at Plymouth, and brought an account, that a Spanish squadron had appeared off Falkland island, and ordered our people to depart; that this was a clear commencement of hostilities:—that from the third of June, to the 12th of September, (above three months) when our garrison arrived on board the *Favourite*, it did not appear, that the Ministry had taken any step whatsoever for obtaining redress, or to put the nation in a state of defence;—that the first orders for equipping a fleet, were given on or after the 12th of September;—that this armament, such as it was, had not yet produced one visible effect;—that since the 12th of September, near three months had elapsed, and still they were told, “*that the affair was in negotiation, the negotiation was still depending* ;”—in that time three messengers had arrived from Madrid, and particularly one last Monday; and although three days had since passed, no communication had yet been made to Parliament of the intelligence he brought, or what was the final answer of the Court of Spain. That
the

the terms of the motion plainly obviated the objection made by Lord WEYMOUTH, of its tending to impede a negotiation now depending; since it did not call for any papers of a date subsequent to the notice received by the Ministry of the hostility being actually committed; consequently could not reach to any letters written, or received, or to any negotiation entered into, after the receipt of that notice; that he meant only to obtain for the House, some accurate information of circumstances leading to, and accounting for a fact, which was itself notorious and undisputed. His Grace went largely into the consideration of the disgrace, and infamy of suffering the honour of the Crown, and the rights of the people of England to be so long the subject of negotiation;—the folly or treachery of the King's servants in not accepting of the augmentation of seamen proposed and urged by the Lords in Opposition, early in the last session, when a proposal for strengthening the hands of Government had been rejected merely because it came from that quarter;—their supineness or treachery, in not arming early in June, when they heard of our people being warned to quit the island, by a military force threatening compulsion;—and lastly, the feebleness and slow progress of the armament they had made, and the disgraceful situation of the King, who stood with a public affront, and dishonour fixed upon his Crown, and without any attempt made, in the course of almost six months, to wipe it away. His Grace observed, that the hostile intentions of Spain were not only declared by the open hostility itself, but confirmed by two extraordinary facts, which he stated to the House, and which, after repeated appeals, stood uncontradicted by the Ministry. He said, that after the Spaniards had taken possession of Port Egmont, they did not suffer the Garrison to depart immediately, but took away the rudder of his Majesty's ship, and detained her by force for the space of twenty days;—that supposing they had a claim to the island, they had none to the King's ship; and detaining her was an express violation of treaty, by which, even in the case of an open rupture, six months are allowed to the subjects of each nation to remove their persons and property from the dominions of the other—The other fact seemed, and was urged as still more important. He asserted, that he had intelligence

not to be doubted, that at this moment, there are in the several Spanish prisons not less than three thousand British seamen, (particularly at Ceuta on the coast of Africa) who had been taken out of our merchant ships by Spanish Guarda Costas, and condemned to perpetual slavery, or confinement. He then quoted a strong instance since the peace, and read the original letters relating to it, where five of our seamen had been demanded by one of our Admirals, and had been refused by a Spanish Admiral and Governor, who expressed a willingness to oblige him, but alledged that it would be a breach of their orders, and instructions.

These were the principal materials of his Grace's speech. The several parts were filled up with judicious and pointed observations, expressed in a clear, nervous language, and delivered with plainness and dignity.

Lord HILLSBOROUGH took up the argument upon the same footing with Lord WEYMOUTH, but carried it much farther than his Lordship had done. He informed the House that he knew the contents of the papers called for, therefore could assert upon his own knowledge, that the production of them at that time would tend greatly to embarrass a negotiation already in a prosperous train, and which promised an happy conclusion;—He insisted much upon the delicacy of Spanish honour;—that it was their national characteristic;—that infinite regard and tenderness, ought to be shewn to the punctilios of that court,—and begged of the noble Lords to consider how far these punctilios might unavoidably retard and embarrass a treaty of this nature;—that, as the Messenger only arrived on Monday morning, the Spanish Ambassador probably had not had time to make himself master of his dispatches, nor to determine upon the form and manner in which he should execute his instructions. The remainder of his speech, which was delivered in very high terms, and with a tone elevated above the pomp of tragedy, turned entirely upon the flourishing state of this country, and the prudence, vigour and vigilance of his Majesty's servants.

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Lord Chatham.

Earl of CHATHAM. I rise to give my hearty assent to the motion made by the noble Duke;—by his Grace's favour, I have been permitted to see it, before it was offered to the House. I have fully considered the necessity of obtaining from the King's servants a communication of the papers described in the motion, and I am persuaded that the alarming state of facts, as well as the strength of reasoning, with which the noble Duke has urged, and enforced that necessity, must have been powerfully felt by your Lordships;—what I mean to say, upon this occasion, may seem perhaps to extend beyond the limits of the motion before us. But I flatter myself, my Lords, that if I am honoured with your attention, it will appear that the meaning and object of this question are naturally connected with considerations of the most extensive, national importance. For entering into such considerations, no season is improper; no occasion should be neglected. Something must be done, my Lords, and immediately, to save an injured, insulted, undone country. If not to save the State, my Lords, at least to mark out, and drag to public justice those servants of the crown, by whose ignorance, neglect, or treachery, this once great, once flourishing people, are reduced to a condition as deplorable at home, as it is despicable abroad. Examples are wanted, my Lords, and should be given to the world, for the instruction of future times, even though they be useless to ourselves. I do not mean, my Lords, nor is it intended by the motion, to impede, or embarrass a negotiation, which we have been told is now in a prosperous train, and promises a happy conclusion.

Lord Weymouth.

Lord WEYMOUTH. I beg pardon for interrupting the noble Lord, but I think it necessary to remark to your Lordships, that I have not said a single word tending to convey to your Lordships any information, or opinion, with regard to the state, or progress of the negotiation—I did, with the utmost caution, avoid giving to your Lordships the least intimation upon that matter.

Lord Chatham.

Earl of CHATHAM. I perfectly agree with the noble Lord. I did not mean to refer to any thing said by his Lordship. He expressed himself, as he always does, with moderation, and reserve, and with the greatest propriety;—it was another noble Lord, very high in office,

office, who told us he understood that the negotiation was in a favourable train.

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Earl of HILLSBOROUGH. I did not make use of the word *Train*. I know the meaning of the word too well. In the language from which it was derived, it signifies protraction, and delay, which I could never mean to apply to the present negotiation.

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Lord Hillsborough.

Earl of CHATHAM. This is the second time that I have been interrupted. I submit it to your Lordships whether this be fair, and candid treatment. I am sure it is contrary to the orders of the House, and a gross violation of decency, and politeness. I listen to every noble Lord in this House with attention, and respect. The noble Lord's design in interrupting me, is as mean, and unworthy, as the manner in which he has done it is irregular and disorderly. He flatters himself that, by breaking the thread of my discourse, he shall confuse me in my argument. But, my Lords, I will not submit to this treatment. I will not be interrupted. When I have concluded, let him answer me if he can.—As to the word, which he has denied, I still affirm that it was the word he made use of; but if he had used any other, I am sure every noble Lord will agree with me, that his meaning was exactly what I had expressed it. Whether he said *course* or *train* is indifferent—He told your Lordships that the negotiation was in a way that promised a happy, and honourable conclusion. His distinctions are mean, frivolous, and puerile. My Lords,—I do not understand the exalted tone assumed by that noble Lord. In the distress, and weakness of this country, my Lords, and conscious as the ministry ought to be how much they have contributed to that distress, and weakness, I think a tone of modesty, of submission, of humility, would become them better; *quædam causæ modestiam desiderant*. Before this country they stand as the greatest criminals. Such I shall prove them to be; for I do not doubt of proving, to your Lordships satisfaction, that since they have been entrusted with the conduct of the King's affairs, they have done every thing that they ought not to have done, and hardly any thing that they ought to have done—The noble Lord talks of Spanish punctilios in the lofty style and idiom of a Spaniard. We are to be wonderfully tender of the Spanish point

Lord Chatham.

of honour, as if *they* had been the complainants, as if *they* had received the injury. I think he would have done better to have told us, what care had been taken of the English honour. My Lords, I am well acquainted with the character of that nation, at least as far it is represented by their court and ministry, and should think this country dishonoured by a comparison of the English good faith with the punctilios of a Spaniard. My Lords, the English are a candid, an ingenuous people; the Spaniards are as mean and crafty, as they are proud and insolent. The integrity of the English merchant, the generous spirit of our naval and military officers, would be degraded by a comparison with *their* merchants or officers. With their ministers I have often been obliged to negotiate, and never met with an instance of candour or dignity in their proceedings; nothing but low cunning, trick, and artifice. After a long experience of their want of candour and good faith, I found myself compelled to talk to them in a peremptory, decisive language. On this principle I submitted my advice to a trembling council for an immediate declaration of a war with Spain. Your Lordships well know what were the consequences of not following that advice. Since, however, for reasons unknown to me, it has been thought advisable to negotiate with the Court of Spain, I should have conceived that the great and single object of such a negotiation would have been, to have obtained complete satisfaction for the injury done to the crown and people of England. But, if I understand the noble Lord, the only object of the present negotiation is to find a salvo for the punctilious honour of the Spaniards. The absurdity of such an idea is of itself insupportable. But, my Lords, I object to our negotiating at all, in our present circumstances. We are not in that situation, in which a great and powerful nation is permitted to negotiate.—A foreign power has forcibly robbed his Majesty of a part of his dominions. Is the island restored? Are you replaced in *statu quo*? If that had been done, it might then perhaps have been justifiable to treat with the aggressor upon the satisfaction he ought to make for the insult offered to the crown of England. But will you descend so low? will you so shamefully betray the King's honour, as to make it matter of negotiation whether

his

his Majesty's possessions shall be restored to him or not? I doubt not, my Lords, that there are some important mysteries in the conduct of this affair, which, whenever they are explained, will account for the profound silence now observed by the King's servants. The time will come, my Lords, when they shall be dragged from their concealments. There are some questions, which, sooner or later, must be answered. The Ministry, I find, without declaring themselves explicitly, have taken pains to possess the public with an opinion, that the Spanish Court have constantly disavowed the proceedings of their governor; and some persons, I see, have been shameless and daring enough to advise his Majesty to support and countenance this opinion in his speech from the throne. Certainly, my Lords, there never was a more odious, a more infamous falsehood imposed on a great nation—It degrades the King's honour—It is an insult to parliament. His Majesty has been advised to confirm and give currency to an *absolute falsehood*. I beg your Lordships' attention, and I hope I shall be understood, when I repeat, that the Court of Spain's having disavowed the act of their governor is an *absolute, a palpable falsehood*. Let me ask, my Lords, when the first communication was made by the Court of Madrid, of their being apprised of their taking of Falkland's Islands, was it accompanied with an offer of instant restitution, of immediate satisfaction, and the punishment of the Spanish governor? If it was not, they have adopted the act as their own, and the very mention of a disavowal is an impudent insult offered to the King's dignity. The King of Spain disowns the thief, while he leaves him unpunished, and profits by the theft; in vulgar English, he is the receiver of stolen goods, and ought to be treated accordingly.

If your Lordships will look back to a period of the English history, in which the circumstances are reversed, in which the Spaniards were the complainants, you will see how differently *they* succeeded: you will see one of the ablest men, one of the bravest officers this or any other country ever produced (it is hardly necessary to mention the name of Sir Walter Raleigh) sacrificed by the meanest prince that ever sat upon the throne, to the vindictive jealousy of that haughty court,

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court. James the First was base enough, at the instance of Gondomar, to suffer a sentence against Sir Walter Raleigh, for another supposed offence, to be carried into execution almost twelve years after it had been passed. This was the pretence. His real crime was, that he had mortally offended the Spaniards, while he acted by the King's express orders, and under his commission.

My Lords, the pretended disavowal by the court of Spain is as ridiculous as it is false. If your Lordships want any other proof, call for your own officers, who were stationed at Falkland Island. Ask the officer who commanded the garrison, whether, when he was summoned to surrender, the demand was made in name of the governor of Buenos Ayres, or of his Catholic Majesty? Was the island said to belong to Don Francisco Bucarelli, or to the King of Spain? If I am not mistaken, we have been in possession of these islands since the year 1764, or 1765. Will the ministry assert, that, in all that time, the Spanish court have never once claimed them? that their right to them has never been urged, or mentioned to our ministry? If it has, the act of the governor of Buenos Ayres is plainly the consequence of our refusal to acknowledge and submit to the Spanish claims. For five years they negotiate; when that fails, they take the island by force. If that measure had arisen out of the general instructions, constantly given to the governor of Buenos Ayres, why should the execution of it have been deferred so long?

My Lords, if the falshood of this pretended disavowal had been confined to the Court of Spain, I should have admitted it without concern. I should have been content that they themselves had left a door open for excuse, and accommodation. The King of England's honour is not touched till he adopts the falsehood, delivers it to his Parliament, and makes it his own. I cannot quit this subject without comparing the conduct of the present Ministry with that of a Gentleman (Mr. GEORGE GRENVILLE,) who is now no more. The occasions were similar.—The French had taken a little island from us called Turks Island. The Minister then at the head of the Treasury, took the business upon himself; but he did not negotiate: he sent for the French Ambassador and made a peremptory demand. A courier was dispatched to Paris, and returned in a few days,

days, with orders for instant restitution, not only of the island, but of every thing that the English subjects had lost*.

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* The state of the fact was as follows.—When the advice arrived in England, of the French having seized Turk's Island, in the year 1764, a debate arose in the British Council upon the measures necessary to be taken with France upon that occasion. The whole Council, one only excepted, were for a remonstrance to the French Court, and they founded their opinion upon an apprehension, lest a spirited conduct might induce that Court to break the peace, and by some unforeseen means or other, precipitate us into some measures that would infallibly terminate in a rupture between the two nations. The one who ventured to differ from all the rest was the Right Hon. GEORGE GRENVILLE. He urged the necessity of a spirited conduct as the only means of preserving the peace. That France, who was unable to continue the late war was equally incapable of beginning another. That if we did not immediately shew a spirited and warm resentment to her behaviour on this occasion, she would certainly repeat her insults, and accompany them with language that her pride would oblige her to support, and thus silence or tameness on our side would infallibly lead to a rupture. Upon this, the two Secretaries of State (at that time Lord HALIFAX and Lord SANDWICH) committed the whole negotiation to Mr. GRENVILLE. He undertook it, and sent for Count GUERCHY, who was at that time the French Ambassador at the British Court. In a short conversation which immediately ensued upon this subject, Mr. GRENVILLE told the Ambassador in plain terms, that the French forces who had invaded and seized Turks Island must immediately evacuate the same, and restore it to the quiet possession of the English. The Ambassador said in excuse for the conduct of his Court, that the King, his master, had claims upon that island, and that he was ready to enter into a negotiation upon them. To which the English Minister peremptorily answered, whatever claims you have, set them up, we will hear them. But first, the island must and shall be restored. We will not hear of any claims or negotiation while the island is in the hands of the French King. It is absurd to seize the island, and then talk of a negotiation about claims. When the island is restored to his Britannic Majesty, then, and not till then, will a single word about claims be heard or admitted. He concluded in a firm and determined manner to this effect. Sir, I will wait nine days for your answer, in which time you may send and receive advice from your Court, whether the King will immediately order his forces to evacuate Turks Island, and restore it to the full and quiet possession of the English or not; and if I do not receive your answer at the end of nine days, the fleet

Such then, my Lords, are the circumstances of our difference with Spain; and, in this situation we are told, that a negotiation has been entered into; that this negotiation which must have commenced near three months ago, is still depending, and that any insight into the actual state of it will impede the conclusion. My Lords, I am not, for my own part, very anxious to draw from the Ministry the information which they take so much care to conceal from us. I very well know where this honourable negotiation *will* end; where it *must* end.—We may, perhaps, be able to patch up an accommodation for the present, but we shall have a Spanish war in six months. Some of your Lordships may, perhaps, remember the convention. For several successive years our merchants had been plundered—no protection given them—no redress obtained for them;—during all that time we were contented to complain, and to negotiate;—the Court of Madrid were then as ready to disown their officers, and as unwilling to punish them, as they are at present. Whatever violence happened was always laid to the charge of one or other of their West India Governor. To-day it was the Governor of Cuba, to-morrow of Porto Rico, Carthagena, or Porto Bello. If in a particular instance, redress was promised, how was that promise kept? The merchant, who had been robbed of his property, was sent for a compensation to the West Indies, to get it, if he could out of an empty chest. At last the convention was made; but, though approved by a majority of both Houses, was received by the nation with universal discontent. I myself heard that wise man (Sir ROBERT WALPOLE) say in the House of

fleet that is now lying at Portsmouth [there was a fleet then at Portsmouth, waiting for sailing orders] shall sail directly to the island and reinstate it in the possession of the King of Great Britain. The Ambassador went away, and soon after returned to shew th British Minister the dispatches he had prepared upon the occasion. Mr. GRENVILLE gave him leave to insert the conversation that had passed between them. On the sixth day, a copy of the orders signed by the French King, for restoring the island to the English, arrived.

The same spirited measure was taken by the same Minister with the Spaniard, who had drove our settlers from Honduras, to whom fourteen days had been allowed: upon which all was instantly and amicably adjusted.

Commons,

Commons, "'Tis true we have got a convention and a vote of Parliament, but what signifies it, we shall have a Spanish war upon the back of our convention."—Here, my Lords, I cannot help mentioning a very striking observation made to me by a noble Lord, (the late Lord GRANVILLE) since dead. His abilities did honour to this House, and to this nation. In the upper departments of Government he had not his equal; and I feel a pride in declaring, that to his patronage, to his friendship, and instruction, I owe whatever I am.—This great man has often observed to me that, in all the negotiations which preceded the convention, our Ministers never found out that there was no ground, or subject for any negotiation. That the Spaniards had not a right to search our ships, and when they attempted to regulate that right by treaty, they were regulating a thing, which did not exist. This I take to be something like the case of the Ministry. The Spaniards have seized an island they have no right to, and his Majesty's servants make it matter of negotiation, whether his dominions shall be restored to him, or not.

From what I have said, my Lords, I do not doubt but it will be understood by many Lords, and given out to the public, that I am for hurrying the nation, at all events, into a war with Spain. My Lords, I disclaim such counsels, and I beg that this declaration may be remembered—Let us have peace, my Lords, but let it be honourable, let it be secure. A patched up peace will not do. It will not satisfy the nation, though it may be approved of by Parliament. I distinguish widely between a solid peace, and the disgraceful expedients, by which a war may be deferred, but cannot be avoided. I am as tender of the effusion of human blood, as the noble Lord who dwelt so long upon the miseries of war. If the bloody politics of some noble Lords had been followed, England, and every quarter of his Majesty's dominions would have been glutted with blood—the blood of our own countrymen.

My Lords, I have better reasons, perhaps, than many of your Lordships for desiring peace upon the terms I have described. I know the strength and preparation of the House of Bourbon; I know the defenceless, unprepared condition of this country. I know

not by what mismanagement we are reduced to this situation; and when I consider, who are the men by whom a war, in the outset at least, must be conducted, can I but wish for peace?—Let them not screen themselves behind the want of intelligence—they had intelligence: I know they had. If they had not, they are criminal; and their excuse is their crime.—But I will tell these young Ministers the true source of intelligence. It is sagacity. Sagacity to compare causes and effects; to judge of the present state of things, and discern the future by a careful review of the past.—OLIVER CROMWELL, who astonished mankind by his intelligence, did not derive it from spies in the Cabinet of every Prince in Europe: he drew it from the cabinet of his own sagacious mind. He observed facts and traced them forward to their consequences. From what was, he concluded what must be, and he never was deceived. In the present situation of affairs, I think it would be treachery to the nation to conceal from them their real circumstances, and with respect to a foreign enemy, I know that all concealments are vain and useless. They are as well acquainted with the actual force and weakness of this country, as any of the King's servants.—This is no time for silence, or reserve. I charge the Ministers with the highest crimes that men in their stations can be guilty of. I charge them with having destroyed all content and unanimity at home, by a series of oppressive, unconstitutional measures; and with having betrayed, and delivered up the nation defenceless to a foreign enemy.

Their utmost vigour has reached no farther than to a fruitless, protracted negotiation. When they should have acted, they have contented themselves with talking *about it, Goddests, and about it*—If we do not stand forth, and do our duty in the present crisis, the nation is irretrievably undone. I despise the little policy of concealments. You ought to know the whole of your situation. If the information be new to the Ministry, let them take care to profit by it. I mean to rouse, to alarm the whole nation—to rouse the Ministry, if possible, who seem awake to nothing but the preservation of their places—to awaken the King.

Early

Early in the last spring, a motion was made in Parliament, for enquiring into the state of the Navy, and an augmentation of six thousand seamen was offered to the Ministry. They refused to give us any insight into the condition of the Navy, and rejected the augmentation. Early in June they received advice of a commencement of hostilities by a Spanish armament, which had warned the King's garrison to quit an island belonging to his Majesty. From that to 12th of September, as if nothing had happened, they lay dormant. Not a man was raised, not a single ship put into commission. From the 12th of September, when they heard of the first blow being actually struck, we are to date the beginning of their preparations for defence. Let us now enquire, my Lords, what expedition they have used, what vigour they have exerted. We have heard wonders of the diligence employed in impressing, of the large bounties offered, and the number of ships put into commission. These have been, for some time past, the constant topics of Ministerial boast and triumph. Without regarding the description, let us look to the substance. I tell your Lordships that, with all this vigour and expedition, they have not, in a period of considerably more than two months, raised ten thousand seamen. I mention that number, meaning to speak largely, though in my own breast, I am convinced that the number does not exceed eight thousand. But it is said they have ordered forty ships of the line into commission. My Lords, upon this subject I can speak with knowledge—I have been conversant in these matters, and draw my information from the greatest and most respectable naval authority, that ever existed in this country—I mean the late Lord ANSON. The merits of that great man are not so universally known, nor his memory so warmly respected as he deserved. To his wisdom, to his experience, and care, (and I speak it with pleasure) the nation owes the glorious naval successes of the last war. The state of facts laid before Parliament in the year 1756, so entirely convinced me of the injustice done to his character, that in spite of the popular clamours raised against him, in direct opposition to the complaints of the merchants, and of the whole city, (whose favour I am supposed to court upon all occasions) I replaced him at the head of the Admiralty; and

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I thank

I thank God that I had resolution enough to do so. Instructed by this great seaman, I do affirm, that forty ships of the line, with their necessary attendant frigates, to be properly manned, require forty thousand seamen. If your Lordps are surpris'd at this assertion, you will be more so, when I assure you, that in the last war, this country maintained 85,000 seamen, and employed them all. Now, my Lords, the peace establishment of your navy, supposing it complete, and effective, (which by the by ought to be known) is sixteen thousand men. Add to these the number newly raised, and you have about twenty-five thousand men to man your fleet. I shall come presently to the application of this force, such as it is, and compare it with the services, which I know are indispensable. But first, my Lords, let us have done with the boasted vigour of the Ministry. Let us hear no more of their activity. If your Lordships will recal to your minds the state of this country when Mahon was taken, and compare what was done by Government at that time, with the efforts now made in very similar circumstances, you will be able to determine what praise is due to the vigorous operations of the present Ministry. Upon the first intelligence of the invasion of Minorca, a great fleet was equipped, and sent out; and near double the number of seamen collected in half the time taken to fit out the present force, which pitiful as it is, is not yet, if the occasion were ever so pressing, in a condition to go to sea. Consult the returns, which were laid before Parliament in the year 1756. I was one of those who urged a Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the Ministry. That Ministry, my Lords, in the midst of universal censure and reproach, had honour and virtue enough to promote the inquiry themselves. They scorned to evade it by the mean expedient of putting a previous question. Upon the strictest inquiry it appeared, that the diligence they had used in sending a squadron to the Mediterranean, and in their other naval preparations, was beyond all example.

My Lords, the subject on which I am speaking, seems to call upon me, and I willingly take this occasion to declare my opinion upon a question, on which much wicked pains have been employed to disturb the minds of the people, and to distress Government.—My opinion may not be very popular; neither am I running the race of popularity.

popularity. I am myself clearly convinced, and I believe every man who knows any thing of the English navy will acknowledge, that without impressing, it is impossible to equip a respectable fleet within the time in which such armaments are usually wanted. If this fact be admitted, and if the necessity of arming upon a sudden emergency should appear incontrovertible, what shall we think of those men, who in the moment of danger, would stop the great defence of their country. Upon whatever principle they may act, the act itself is more than faction---it is labouring to cut off the right hand of the community. I wholly condemn their conduct, and am ready to support any motion that may be made, for bringing those aldermen, who have endeavoured to stop the execution of the Admiralty warrants, to the bar of this House. My Lords, I do not rest my opinion merely upon necessity. I am satisfied that the power of impressing is founded upon uninterrupted usage. It is the *consuetudo Regni*, and part of the common-law prerogative of the crown. When I condemn the proceedings of some persons upon this occasion, let me do justice to a man, whose character and conduct have been infamously traduced; I mean the late Lord Mayor, Mr. TRECOTHICK. In the midst of reproach and clamour, he had firmness enough to persevere in doing his duty. I do not know in office a more upright magistrate; nor, in private life, a worthier man.

Permit me now, my Lords, to state to your Lordships the extent and variety of the service which must be provided for, and to compare them with our apparent resources. A due attention to, and provision for these services, is prudence in time of peace; in war it is necessity. Preventive policy, my Lords, which obviates or avoids the injury, is far preferable to that vindictive policy, which aims at reparation, or has no object but revenge. The precaution that meets the disorder is cheap and easy; the remedy which follows it, bloody and expensive. The first great and acknowledged object of national defence, in this country, is to maintain such a superior naval force at home, that even the united fleets of France and Spain may never be masters of the Channel. If that should ever happen, what is there to hinder their landing in Ireland, or even upon our own coast? They have often made the attempt: in King WILLIAM's time it succeeded.

King

King JAMES embarked on board a French fleet, and landed with a French army in Ireland. In the mean time the French were masters of the Channel, and continued so until their fleet was destroyed by Admiral RUSSELL. As to the probable consequences of a foreign army landing either in Great Britain or Ireland, I shall offer your Lordships my opinion when I speak of the actual condition of our standing army.

The second naval object with an English minister, should be to maintain at all times a powerful western squadron. In the profoundest peace it should be respectable; in war it should be formidable. Without it, the colonies, the commerce, the navigation of Great Britain, lie at the mercy of the House of Bourbon. While I had the honour of acting with Lord ANSON, that able officer never ceased to inculcate upon the minds of his Majesty's servants the necessity of constantly maintaining a strong western squadron; and I must vouch for him, that while *he* was at the head of the marine it was never neglected.

The third object indispensable, as I conceive, in the distribution of our navy, is to maintain such a force in the Bay of Gibraltar as may be sufficient to cover that garrison, to watch the motions of the Spaniards, and to keep open the communication with Minorca. The ministry will not betray such want of information as to dispute the truth of any of these propositions. But how will your Lordships be astonished, when I inform you in what manner they have provided for these great, these essential objects? As to the first, I mean the defence of the Channel, I take upon myself to affirm to your Lordships, that, at this hour (and I beg that the date may be taken down and observed) we cannot send out eleven ships of the line so manned and equipped that any officer of rank and credit in the service shall accept of the command and stake his reputation upon it. We have one ship of the line at Jamaica, one at the Leeward Islands, and one at Gibraltar; yet, at this very moment, for ought the ministry know, both Jamaica and Gibraltar may be attacked; and if they are attacked (which God forbid) they must fall. Nothing can prevent it but the appearance of a superior squadron. It is true that, some two months

months ago, four ships of the line were ordered from Portsmouth, and one from Plymouth, to carry a relief from Ireland to Gibraltar. These ships, my Lords, a week ago, were still in port. If, upon their arrival at Gibraltar, they should find the Bay possessed by a superior squadron, the relief cannot be landed; and if it could be landed, of what force do your Lordships think it consists? Two regiments, of four hundred men each, at a time like this, are sent to secure a place of such importance as Gibraltar! a place which it is universally agreed cannot hold against a vigorous attack from the sea, if once the enemy should be so far masters of the Bay as to make good a landing even with a moderate force. The indispensable service of the lines requires at least four thousand men. The present garrison consists of about two thousand three hundred; so that, if the relief should be fortunate enough to get on shore, they will want eight hundred men of their necessary complement.

Let us now, my Lords, turn our eyes homewards. When the defence of Great Britain or Ireland is in question, it is no longer a point of honour; it is not the security of foreign commerce, or foreign possessions; we are to contend for the very being of the state. I have good authority to assure your Lordships that the Spaniards have now a fleet at Ferrol, completely manned and ready to sail, which we are in no condition to meet. We could not this day send out eleven ships of the line properly equipped, and to-morrow the enemy may be masters of the Channel. It is unnecessary to press the consequences of these facts upon your Lordships minds. If the enemy were to land in full force, either upon this coast or in Ireland, where is your army? where is your defence? My Lords, if the House of Bourbon make a wise and vigorous use of the actual advantages they have over us, it is more than probable that on this day month we may not be a nation. What military force can the ministry shew to answer any sudden demand? I do not speak of foreign expeditions, or offensive operations. I speak of the interior defence of Ireland, and of this country. You have a nominal army of seventy battalions, besides guards and cavalry. But what is the establishment of these battalions? Supposing they were complete to the numbers
allowed

allowed (which I know they are not) each regiment would consist of something less than less four hundred men, rank and file. Are these battalions complete? Have any orders been given for an augmentation, or do the ministry mean to continue them upon their present low establishment? When America, the West Indies, Gibraltar, and Minorca, are taken care of, consider, my Lords, what part of this army will remain to defend Ireland and Great Britain? This subject, my Lords, leads me to considerations of foreign policy and foreign alliance. It is more connected with them than your Lordships may at first imagine. When I compare the numbers of our people, estimated highly at seven millions, with the population of France and Spain, usually computed at twenty-five millions, I see a clear, self-evident impossibility for this country to contend with the united power of the House of Bourbon, merely upon the strength of its own resources. They who talk of confining a great war to naval operations only, speak without knowledge or experience. We can no more command the disposition than the events of a war. Wherever we are attacked, there we must defend.

I have been much abused, my Lords, for supporting a war, which it has been the fashion to call *my* German war. But I can affirm, with a clear conscience, that that abuse has been thrown upon me by men, who were either unacquainted with facts, or had an interest in misrepresenting them. I shall speak plainly and frankly to your Lordships upon this, as I do upon every occasion. That I did in Parliament oppose, to the utmost of my power, our engaging in a German war, is most true; and if the same circumstances were to recur, I would act the same part, and oppose it again. But when I was called upon to take a share in the administration, that measure was already decided. Before I was appointed Secretary of State, the first treaty with the King of Prussia was signed, and not only ratified by the crown, but approved of and confirmed by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament. It was a weight fastened upon my neck. By that treaty, the honour of the crown and the honour of nation were equally engaged. How I could recede from such an engagement; how I could advise the crown to desert a great prince

prince in the midst of those difficulties, in which a reliance upon the good faith of this country had contributed to involve him, are questions I willingly submit to your Lordships candor. That wonderful man might, perhaps, have extricated himself from his difficulties without our assistance. He has talents which, in every thing that touches the human capacity, do honour to the human mind. But how would England have supported that reputation of credit and good faith, by which we have been distinguished in Europe? What other foreign power would have sought our friendship? What other foreign power would have accepted of an alliance with us?

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But, my Lords, though I wholly condemn our entering into any engagements which tend to involve us in a continental war, I do not admit that alliances with some of the German princes are either detrimental or useless. They *may be*, my Lords, not only useful, but necessary. I hope, indeed, I shall never see an army of foreign auxiliaries in Great Britain; we do not want it. If our people are united; if they are attached to the King, and place a confidence in his government, we have an internal strength sufficient to repel any foreign invasion. With respect to Ireland, my Lords, I am not of the same opinion. If a powerful foreign army were landed in that kingdom, with arms ready to be put into the hands of the Roman Catholics, I declare freely to your Lordships, that I should heartily wish it were possible to collect twenty thousand German protestants, whether from Hesse or Brunswick, or Wolfenbottle, or even the unpopular Hanoverian, and land them in Ireland. I wish it, my Lords, because I am convinced that, whenever the case happens, we shall have no English army to spare.

I have taken a wide circuit, my Lords; and trespassed, I fear, too long upon your Lordships patience. Yet I cannot conclude without endeavouring to bring home your thoughts to an object more immediately interesting to us than any I have yet considered; I mean the internal condition of this country. We may look abroad for wealth, or triumphs, or luxury; but England, my Lords, is the main stay, the last resort of the whole empire. To this point every scheme of policy, whether foreign or domestic, should ultimately refer. Have

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any measures been taken to satisfy, or to unite the people? Are the grievances they have so long complained of removed? or do they stand not only unredressed, but aggravated? Is the right of free election restored to the elective body? My Lords, I myself am one of the people. I esteem that security and independence, which is the original birthright of an Englishman, far beyond the privileges, however splendid, which are annexed to the peerage. I myself am by birth an English elector, and join with the freeholders of England as in a common cause. Believe me, my Lords, we mistake our real interest as much as our duty, when we separate ourselves from the mass of the people. Can it be expected that Englishmen will unite heartily in defence of a government, by which they feel themselves insulted and oppressed? Restore them to their rights; that is the true way to make them unanimous. It is not a ceremonious recommendation from the throne, that can bring back peace and harmony to a discontented people. That insipid annual opiate has been administered so long, that it has lost its effect. Something substantial, something effectual must be done.

The public credit of the nation stands next in degree to the rights of the constitution; it calls loudly for the interposition of Parliament. There is a set of men, my Lords, in the city of London, who are known to live in riot and luxury, upon the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent, the helpless—upon that part of the community, which stands most in need of, and best deserves the care and protection of legislature. To me, my Lords, whether they be miserable jobbers of Change-alley, or the lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall-street, they are all equally detestable. I care but little whether a man walks on foot, or is drawn by eight horses or six horses; if his luxury be supported by the plunder of his country, I despise and detest him. My Lords, while I had the honour of serving his Majesty, I never ventured to look at the Treasury but at a distance; it is a business I am unfit for, and to which I never could have submitted. The little I know of it has not served to raise my opinion of what is vulgarly called the *monied interest*; I mean that blood-sucker, that muckworm, which calls itself the friend of government—that pretends

to serve this or that administration, and may be purchased, on the same terms, by any administration—that advances money to government, and takes special care of its own emoluments. Under this description I include the whole race of commissaries, jobbers, contractors, clothiers, and remitters. Yet I do not deny that, even with these creatures some management may be necessary. I hope, my Lords, that nothing I have said will be understood to extend to the honest, industrious tradesman, who holds the middle rank, and has given repeated proofs, that he prefers law and liberty to gold. I love that class of men. Much less would I be thought to reflect upon the fair merchant, whose liberal commerce is the prime source of national wealth. I esteem his occupation, and respect his character.

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My Lords, if the general representation, which I have had the honour to lay before you of the situation of public affairs, has, in any measure, engaged your attention; your Lordships, I am sure, will agree with me, that the season calls for more than common prudence and vigour in the direction of our Councils. The difficulty of the crisis demands a wise, a firm and a popular Administration. The dishonourable traffic of places has engaged us too long. Upon this subject, my Lords, I speak without interest or enmity. I have no personal objection to any of the King's servants. I shall never be Minister; certainly not without full power to cut away all the rotten branches of Government. Yet, unconcerned as I truly am for myself, I cannot avoid seeing some capital errors in the distribution of the royal favour. There are men, my Lords, who, if their own services were forgotten, ought to have an hereditary merit with the House of Hanover; whose ancestors stood forth in the day of trouble, opposed their persons and fortunes to treachery and rebellion, and secured to his Majesty's family this splendid power of rewarding. There are other men, my Lords, (*Shaking his fist at Lord Mansfield*) who, to speak tenderly of them, were not quite so forward in the demonstrations of their zeal to the reigning family; there was another cause, my Lords, and a partiality to it, which some persons had not, at all times, discretion enough to conceal, I know I shall be accused of attempting to revive distinctions. My Lords, if it were possible

ble, I would abolish all distinctions. I would not wish the favours of the Crown to flow invariable in one channel, But there are some distinctions, which are inherent in the nature of things. There is a distinction between right and wrong,---between Whig and Tory.

When I speak of an administration, such as the necessity of the season calls for, my views are large and comprehensive.---It must be popular, that it may begin with reputation.---It must be strong within itself, that it may proceed with vigour and decision. An administration, formed upon an exclusive system of family-connexions, or private friendships, cannot, I am convinced, be long supported in this country. Yet, my Lords, no man respects, or values more than I do, that honourable connection, which arises from a disinterested concurrence in opinion upon public measures, or from the sacred bond of private friendship and esteem. What I mean is, that no single man's private friendships, or connexions, however extensive, are sufficient of themselves, either to form, or to overturn an administration.---With respect to the ministry I believe they have fewer rivals than they imagine.---No prudent man will covet a situation so beset with difficulty and danger.

I shall trouble your Lordships with but a few words more. His Majesty tells us in his speech, that he will call upon us for our advice, if it should be necessary in the farther progress of this affair.---It is not easy to say whether or no the ministry are serious in this declaration; nor what is meant by the *progress* of an affair, which rests upon one fixed point. Hitherto we have not been called upon.---But, though we are not consulted, it is our right and duty as the King's great, hereditary Council to offer him our advice.---The papers, mentioned in the noble Duke's motion, will enable us to form a just and accurate opinion of the conduct of his Majesty's servants, though not of the actual state of their honourable negotiations. The ministry too, seem to want advice upon some points, in which their own safety is immediately concerned. They are now balancing between a war, which they ought to have foreseen, but for which they have made no provision, and an ignominious compromise.---Let me warn them of their danger.---If they are forced into a war, they stand it at the hazard of their heads. If, by an ignominious compromise, they should

should stain the honour of the crown, or sacrifice the rights of the people, let them look to their consciences, and consider whether they will be able to walk the streets in safety.

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The motion was negatived by the previous question.

There are many interesting Facts in the negotiation concerning Falkland's Islands, which not being related in the papers laid before Parliament, nor to be found in the public accounts of this transaction, it is presumed, they may, without impropriety, be given in this place. The dates of the public facts, the reader will find in the note*.

The

* On the 20th of February, 1770, two Spanish frigates arrived at Port Egmont; and, in the name of the King of Spain, ordered all our people to evacuate the island. But Captain Hunt, who was the English commanding officer there, refused to obey; upon which, the Spaniards took possession of the island in the name of his Catholic Majesty, and gave the English notice, in form, to quit the same in six months.

On the 6th of March, Captain Hunt sailed for England, leaving Captain Fermor at Falkland's Island. He thought it the most advisable to bring intelligence of the above transaction to the Ministry at home; and, at the same time, leave a force at the island, to watch the motions of the Spaniards.

On the 30th of May, 1770, Captain Hunt arrived at Plymouth, and immediately set out for London, and acquainted the Lords of the Admiralty with every particular at Falkland's Islands. The King having expressed a desire to see his journal, it was carried to his Majesty by Sir Edward Hawke. Some account of this affair having got into the public prints, the Ministry immediately contradicted it in the strongest terms. Their writers asserted, that the Spanish frigates touched at Port-Egmont *only* to get fresh water; that the officers did not even go ashore, &c. (See all the London newspapers of June 9, 1770.) In about six weeks after the arrival of Captain Hunt, Prince Masserano, the Spanish Minister in London, acquainted Lord Weymouth, in a conference, that by that time the forces of his Catholic Majesty were certainly in possession of Falkland's Islands. Still no notice was taken.

The affair was kept secret until the 9th of September, when advice arrived from Spain, that Falkland's Islands were actually taken by the Spaniards. The same courier brought advice of the galleons being arrived at Cadiz.

On

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Secret History
of the Negotia-
tion.

The negotiation began on the 12th day of September 1770. On that day the British Ministry sent their first memorial to the Court of Madrid. The Spanish Minister gave a short answer, that as the King of Great Britain had no Minister at Madrid, the King of Spain would send his answer to Prince MASSERANO, his Minister at London §.

It is necessary to observe, for the reader's information, that the system of the British Court, since the accession of the pre-

On the 13th of September, the Admiralty ordered sixteen guardships to be got ready. This was the first alarm. The stocks fell considerably. More guardships were ordered, and press-warrants were issued. A few knew the cause, but the public were kept ignorant. Lord Holland, Lord Hertford, and several other ministerial lords, and their friends, sold large sums out of the funds. The Duke of Bedford's party were for preserving the peace at any rate; and Lord Rochford being of a different opinion, they tried to remove him. The King refused to comply with their wishes.

A *bon mot* at this time deserves to be noted. Lord Hertford asked Lord Rochford, at Court, *Well, my Lord, what news—peace or war?* Lord Rochford answered, *They are at seventy-nine, seven-eighths, my Lord.*

[During the negotiation between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Bussy, in the year 1761, it was discovered, that Mr. S——, one of the clerks in the Secretary of State's office, GAMBLER in the public funds, upon which he was instantly discharged.]

On the 22d of September, the Favourite frigate, Captain Fermor, arrived at Portsmouth, from Falkland's Islands, with the remainder of our people; the Spaniards having taken possession of the Islands on the 24th of June, 1770, with a superior force.

§ Upon Sir JAMES GRAY leaving Madrid in 1768, Mr. GEORGE PITT, now Lord RIVERS, was appointed his successor; but he never went: and the Secretary of the Embassy, Mr. HARRIS, now Lord MALMSBURY, whom Sir JAMES GRAY left at Madrid, was the only representative of the British Sovereign at that Court. Though at that time a young man, he conducted this negotiation, as far as he was concerned in it, with uncommon ability, and a very becoming spirit.

sent

sent King, has been to maintain *two* Cabinets—one *official*, the other *efficient*. The *official* Cabinet, consisting of the official Ministers of the several departments of the State, carried on the negotiation with the Court of Madrid. The *efficient* Cabinet, consisting of persons of lower rank, such as are commonly known by the denomination of *second-rate-men*, but who were honoured with the full and unlimited confidence of the Closet, carried on at the same time a counter-negotiation with the French Court.

At the beginning of the negotiation, there was a disposition in both these Cabinets, to resent the insult of the Spanish Court; but after the return of the *Princess of Wales* from the continent, which was in the month of October, the tone of the *efficient* Cabinet was changed; and they more than once, opposed with success, the official Ministers. At length, on the fifteenth day of December 1770, Lord WEYMOUTH, who was Secretary of State for foreign affairs, being wearied with delay and evasion, proposed in Council to recall Mr. HARRIS from Madrid. His Lordship followed the example of Lord CHATHAM, who, in 1761, proposed to recall Lord BRISTOL from the same Court. Lord WEYMOUTH's proposition was rejected; upon which he immediately resigned. Lord ROCHFORD succeeded to Lord WEYMOUTH's department; and adopting Lord WEYMOUTH's spirit, he adopted his Lordship's proposition also; for, at a Cabinet Council, held on the twenty-first, the proposition to recall Mr. HARRIS was agreed to. Whatever happened between the eighteenth and the twenty-first, to occasion this change of opinion in the majority of Cabinet, is not exactly known; but it was said, that Prince MASSERANO had sent a letter to
Lord

Lord ROCHFORD, written in such strong terms, as to induce his Lordship to menace the Cabinet with another resignation, if the proposition was not agreed to.

On the twenty-second, the counter-negotiation of the efficient Council, began to emerge out of its dark chamber. The confidential Minister of the closet, held a conference with M. FRANCOIS, Secretary to the Embassy of France at the Court of London, upon the subject of terms of accommodation with Spain. This secret negotiation was unknown to the French Minister, M. le Duc de CHOISEUL; who had entered fully into the designs of Spain, and had firmly resolved to support that power in her intended war with Great Britain. At this time, there was a strong party in the French Court against CHOISEUL, consisting of Madame BARRE, the Princes of the Blood, the Prince de SOUBIZE, and of other great persons; who had for several months past, anxiously and eagerly wished to procure the dismissal of the Minister; but hitherto he had maintained his interest with the King, notwithstanding all their efforts against him. The King was now advanced beyond the climacteric of life, and affectionately attached to the season of peace; because it afforded him more opportunity to indulge in his favourite pleasures, than the period of war. For this reason M. CHOISEUL had not acquainted the King with his design of co-operating with Spain; by which he had flattered himself, that he should obliterate the disgraces of the late war. The design was discovered, or rather made known to Madame BARRE; who immediately prejudiced the King so strongly against the project of his Minister, that he yielded to her importunities,

portunities; and dismissed him from all his employments*. And, at the same time, exiled him to Chanteloux.—Several English

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* At the end of the year 1770, Lord HAWKE quitted the Admiralty. The following paper, which is taken from the public prints of that time, seems to explain this resignation, and some other circumstances:

January 15, 1771.

“ If Sir EDWARD HAWKE had followed the advice and example of his friends, he would not have been reduced to the dishonourable necessity of quitting the direction of the English navy, at the very moment it is going to be employed against the foreign enemies of England. To be left in employment, after Chatham and Granby had retired;—to continue in it, in company with Gower and Hillsborough;—are circumstances too disgraceful to admit of aggravation. It is natural to sympathise in the distresses of a brave man, and to lament that a noble estate of reputation should be squandered away in debts of dishonour contracted by sharpers.

“ His Majesty, God bless him, has now got rid of every man, whose former services or present scruples could be supposed to give offence to *her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales*. Her Royal Highness’s scheme of Government, formed long before her husband’s death, is now accomplished. She has succeeded in disuniting every party, and dissolving every connexion; and, by the mere influence of the Crown, has formed an Administration, such as it is, out of the refuse of them all. There are two leading principles in the politics of St. James’s, which will account for almost every measure of Government since the King’s accession. The first is, that the prerogative is sufficient to make a lackey a Prime Minister, and to maintain him in that post, without any regard to the welfare or to the opinion of the people.—The second is, that none but persons insignificant in themselves, or of tainted reputation, should be brought into employment. Men of greater consequence and abilities, will have opinions of their own, and will not submit to the meddling, unnatural ambition of a mother, who grasps at unlimited power, at the hazard of her son’s destruction. They will not suffer measures of public utility, which have been resolved upon in Council, to be checked and controuled by a secret influence in the closet. Such men consequently will never be called upon, but in cases of extreme necessity. When that ceases, they find their places no longer tenable. To answer the purposes of an ambitious woman, an Administration must be formed of more pliant materials; of men, who, having no connection with each other,

English, as well as French gentlemen, and persons of high rank, visited him in his exile. He was the first exiled French Minister, who had ever been so honoured. In a free conversation with one of his English visitors, (General BURGOYNE) he candidly informed him of one part of his plan against Great Britain, if the war had commenced, which he intended—It was—to have landed an army in Essex; to have proceeded with the utmost rapidity to London, where they were to have burned the Bank and the Tower, particularly the first; but to have committed no other depredation whatever, and then to have returned with the same expedition. The troops were to have had no other baggage or incumbrance, than their knapsacks. His principal object was, to annihilate the Public Credit of Great Britain, which he conceived, the destruction of the Bank in London, would perfectly accomplish. It must be owned the scheme is feasible, and, perhaps not impracticable.

no personal interest, no weight or consideration with the people, may separately depend upon the smiles of the Crown alone, for their advancement to high offices, and for their continuance in them. If such men resist the Princess Dowager's pleasure, his Majesty knows that he may dismiss them without risking any thing from their resentment. His wisdom suggests to him that, if he were to chuse his Ministers for any of those qualities, which might entitle them to public esteem, the nation might take part with them, and resent their dismissal. As it is, whenever he changes his servants, he is sure to have the people, in that instance, on his side.

“ The Princess Dowager having now carried her plan of Administration into effect, it is not to be wondered that she should be very unwilling to expose herself and her schemes to the uncertain events of a foreign war. She knows that a disaster abroad would not only defeat the cunning plan of female avarice and ambition, but that it might reach farther. The mothers of our Kings have heretofore been impeached; and if the precedents are not so complete as they should be, they require and will admit of improvements.”

There

There are always vessels enough at Calais and Dunkirk for such an expedition; and the vicinity of the garrisoned towns facilitates the assembling of an army, without creating an alarm. The anecdote may serve to put future Ministers on their guard; for, at that time, we had no force in any situation, to impede the operation, had it been attempted.

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On the twenty-seventh day of December, 1770, the King of Spain held a grand Council; the result of which was, nothing more than a repetition, in different words, of the ultimatum, which Lord WEYMOUTH had rejected. This result was sent to Paris, to be first communicated to M. de CHOISEUL, and then forwarded to London; but that Minister being dismissed, the dispatches came into the King's own hands, on the second day of January 1771. The King retained the dispatches; and wrote to the King of Spain, that he had been totally ignorant of the correspondence and design of his Minister, and that he was resolved not to enter into the war; at the same time, offering his mediation in the preservation of peace. The Catholic King in his answer, put himself entirely into the possession of the King of France—he laid no restraint on his brother King, but to preserve his honour—he referred the whole case to him: Information of all these circumstances was regularly sent to M. FRANCOIS at London. He, and not the Ambassador, was made the Confidant. But, in consequence of the Catholic King's reference to the King of France, full powers to treat, were sent to the Count de GUINES, the French Minister at London, with an assurance, that further powers *would be sent* to Prince MASSERANO. These dispatches arrived in London on the

fourteenth day of January 1771. The Spanish Ambassador, however, refused to concur in any negotiation, declaring his reason to be, that as Mr. HARRIS was recalled, he could not negotiate upon any terms, expecting that his own recall would be the immediate consequence. Five messengers were then sent to Mr. HARRIS, by different ways, to order him back to Madrid*.

While Lord ROCHFORD was negotiating with Prince MASSE-
RANO, Mr. STUART MACKENZIE was negotiating with Monf.
FRANCOIS. At length, about an hour before the meeting of
Parliament, on the twenty-second of January 1771, a declara-
tion was signed by the Spanish Ambassador, under French
orders, and a French indemnification, for the restitution of
Falkland's Islands to his Britannic Majesty; but the important
condition, upon which this declaration was obtained, was not

* This explains Lord ROCHFORD's letter to Mr. HARRIS, which otherwise appears inexplicable.

S I R,

St. James's, January 18, 1771.

THE KING having reason from the information he has received, to believe that Prince de MASSERANO has orders to make fresh propositions of satisfaction for the injury done to his Majesty at Falkland's Islands, I am to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you return to the Court of Madrid, in order that you may be ready to hear any thing, which the Ministers of his Catholic Majesty may have in charge to say to you, on the same subject, and to carry on the usual intercourse between the two Courts, in case the above-mentioned propositions should prove satisfactory, and *as in the present circumstances your appearance at Madrid is very material, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you should not lose any time in your journey, on account of private affairs or inconvenience; and that you should remain there till his Majesty shall think proper to fill your place by a Minister of higher character.*

I am, &c. ROCHFORD.

mentioned

mentioned in the declaration. This condition was, That the British forces should evacuate Falkland's Islands as soon as convenient after they were put in possession of Port and Fort Egmont. And the British Ministry engaged, as a pledge of their sincerity to keep that promise, that they would be the first to disarm*.

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Two days after the Spanish Ambassador had signed the declaration, he received orders of recall; but his fate was like that of Mr. HARRIS, in a short time afterwards, he received orders to remain.

During the month of February 1771, the Spanish Minister at Madrid, hinted to Mr. HARRIS, the intention of the Spanish Court, to require of the British Ministry, *a perfection of engagements, as they were mutually understood.* Mr. HARRIS's dispatch, containing this hint, was received by the Ministry on the fourth of March. Three days afterwards, a Spanish messenger arrived, with orders to Prince MASSERANO, to make a positive demand of the cession of Falkland's Islands, to the King of Spain. The Spanish Ambassador first communicated his information of these orders to the French Ambassador, with a view of knowing if he would concur with him in making the demand. On the fourteenth they held a conference with

* These facts are confirmed by Count de GUINES, in his memorial against Messieurs TORT, ROGER and DEPELCH, who had charged him with *gambling* in the English funds.

Colonel BARRE declared in the House of Commons, that Monsieur FRANCOIS realized upwards of half a million sterling, by *gambling* in the English funds, during the period of this negotiation.

Lord

Lord ROCHFORD on the subject. His Lordship's answer was consonant to the spirit he had uniformly shewn. In consequence of this answer, messengers were sent to Paris and Madrid. The reply from France was civil, but mentioned the Family Compact. The answer from Spain did not reach London until the twentieth of April.—In the mean time, the Ministers held several conferences with Mr. STUART MACKENZIE—The result of the whole was, the English set the example to disarm; and Falkland's Islands were totally evacuated and abandoned in a short time afterwards; and have ever since been in the possession of the Spaniards.—The British armament cost the nation between three and four millions of money, besides the expence and inconvenience to individuals.

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*Lord Chatham renews the Discussion of the Middlesex Election—
Attacks Lord Mansfield's Doctrine of Libels—Interruption of the
Duke of Manchester—Violent Disturbance made by the Court
Party—The Minority secede—Motion respecting Gibraltar—
The Spanish Declaration—Questions intended for the Judges—
Motion to rescind the Resolution concerning the Middlesex Elec-
tion—Lord Chatham's Motion to address the King to dissolve the
Parliament.*

ON the 28th of Nov. 1770, Lord CHATHAM moved, "That the capacity to be chosen a representative of the Commons in Parliament, being under known restrictions and limitations of law an original inherent right of the subject, may be cognizable by law, and is a matter wherein the jurisdiction of the House of Commons (though unappealable as to the seat of their member) is not final or conclusive."

His Lordship was very dispassionate, clear, and strong; enlarging on all the points of the Middlesex election. He urged the necessity of dissolving the Parliament, as a measure that would give universal satisfaction. That as to the impropriety of the two Houses of Parliament quarrelling, it would be of no worse consequence than in 1704, and it is a point that ought to be settled: the liberty of the subject, the right of election, were invaded by an arbitrary vote of the other House, which, though only one branch of the legislature, had assumed the power of the whole. The people neither had, nor could have any confidence in a House of Commons which had committed so flagrant a violation of their dearest rights. The present House of Commons were become odious in the eye of the present age, and their memory would be detested by posterity. Their having substituted Colonel LUTTRELL for Mr. WILKES, he insisted, demanded the severest punishment—required a dissolution.

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Lord Chatham
renews the dis-
cussion of the
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He attacks Lord
Mansfield's
doctrine of
Libels.

Towards the end of his speech he made a digression, to introduce another grievance, which, he said, he was informed prevailed in the courts of law, respecting juries in the case of libels, and the judgment of the Court which followed. He conceived the direction of the Judge, not formerly, but lately given to juries, to be dangerous and unconstitutional, and the judgment of the court, in many cases, to have been cruel and vindictive. The matter of libel—of public libel—was generally a *political* matter; and the question, whether a paper was a libel or not, was not a question of *law*, but a question of *politics*, in which Ministers indulged their passion of revenge, and the courts of law became their instruments of gratification.

Lord MANSFIELD, after many compliments to Lord CHATHAM, maintained his doctrine respecting libels.

Lord CHATHAM replied, that if he conceived the noble Lord on the woollack right, his doctrine was, "That a libel, or not a libel, was a matter of law, and was to be decided by the Bench; and the question to be left to the jury to determine, was only the fact of printing and publishing:" to which Lord MANSFIELD assented. His Lordship then expressed his astonishment, declaring, that he had never understood that to be the law of England, and expressed his wish, "that a day might be appointed for an *enquiry* into the conduct of the Judges who had advanced such a doctrine." His Lordship observed, that in a late case, it was declared from the Bench, that if the verdict, instead of guilty of printing and publishing *only*, had been guilty of printing and publishing without the word *only*, the officer of the court would have entered it on the record *guilty*.

Lord CHATHAM's observations on the courts of law, respecting libels, occasioned Lord MANSFIELD to move, that the House might be summoned on Monday the 11th of December. It was universally supposed that Lord MANSFIELD was resolved to enter fully into the subject on that day; but when the time arrived, Lord MANSFIELD only told their Lordships that he had left a paper with the clerk for their perusal. This brought up

Lord

Lord CHATHAM, who said, that the verdict of the jury, in the case to which the paper alluded, was " guilty of printing and publishing only;"---that two motions had been made in the Court upon this verdict; one, in arrest of judgment, by the defendant, grounded upon the ambiguity of the verdict---the other by the counsel of the crown, to enter upon the verdict according to the legal import. On both motions a rule to shew cause was granted, and in a short time after the matter was argued before the Court. The noble Judge, when he delivered the opinion of the Court upon the verdict, went regularly through the whole of the proceedings at *Nisi Prius*, as well the evidence that had been given as his own charge to the jury. This proceeding would have been very proper, had a motion been made from either side for a new trial; because either a verdict given contrary to *evidence*, or an improper charge by the Judge at *Nisi Prius*, is held to be a sufficient ground for granting a new trial: but when a motion is made in arrest of judgment, or for establishing the verdict, by entering it up according to the *legal* import of the words, it must be on the ground of something appearing *on the record*; and the Court, in considering whether the verdict shall be established or not, are so confined to the record, that they cannot take notice of any thing that does not appear on the face of it; to make use of the legal phrase, *they cannot travel out of the record*. The noble Judge did travel out of the record. I affirm, therefore, that his conduct was **IRREGULAR, EXTRAJUDICIAL, and UNPRECEDENTED**; and I am sure there is not a lawyer in England that will contradict me. His real motive for doing what he knew to be wrong, was, that he might have an opportunity of telling the public *extrajudicially*, that the other three Judges agreed with him in the doctrine laid down in the charge.

Lord CAMDEN asked, if Lord MANSFIELD meant to have his paper entered upon the Journals. To which Lord MANSFIELD answered, *No! No! only to leave it with the Clerk.*

After this business was over, the Duke of MANCHESTER rose. His Grace began with describing the state of the nation, and particularly of Gibraltar and Minorca; the former of which, he said, was in a state

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Interruption of
the Duke of
Manchester.

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Violent disturb-
ance made by
the Court
Party.

utterly defenceless—Here his Grace was interrupted by Lord Gower, who desired that the House might be cleared of all but those who had a right to sit there. There was a standing order of the House, he said, that none but Peers should come there.

The standing order of the House was then read, when the Duke of RICHMOND got up, and defended what the Duke of MANCHESTER had said, observing, that though it was very true any Lord had a right to order the House to be cleared, yet that their doing it now would alarm the people, who would immediately suppose they were *afraid* their proceedings should be known. Immediately a violent outcry arose, and all became noise, clamour, and confusion. *Clear the House! Clear the House!* was echoed from side to side. The Lords DENBIGH and MARCHMONT particularly distinguished themselves in pushing out the Members of the House of Commons, as well as strangers. The Duke of RICHMOND attempted to speak, but his voice was drowned in the clamour. Lord CHATHAM, shocked at the indecency of such a proceeding, rose, hoping that his age, his services, his abilities, would force attention; but these were not the charms to soothe that great assembly. Hands, voices, legs, were all employed to prevent the noble Lord (whose seat in that House was the reward of having saved the nation) from being heard at this moment.

Minority se-
cede.

Lord CHATHAM continued speaking, without being heard, for some time. He sent the Duke of RICHMOND to the Speaker (Lord MANSFIELD) to acquaint his Lordship that he wanted to speak to the construction of the standing Order. But he could not be heard. The taste was evidently for Lord DENBIGH's and Lord MARCHMONT's eloquence. Lord CHATHAM, at length wearied out with insult, declared, that if he was not to have the privilege of a Lord of Parliament, and to be allowed the exercise of free debate, it was needless and idle for him to attend Parliament. He left the House; and about eighteen Lords had dignity enough to feel their own disgrace in the insult offered to him, and left the House to its own madness.

No sooner were these noble persons retired, than, as if the design of the Ministry had been to tell the world that the presence of those noble

noble Lords was the only check that controuled them from the most violent absurdities, they lost all discretion, and insisted on the Members of the House of Commons being turned out. In the crowd, some of the Members of the House of Commons represented that they were in the act of their duty, attending with a Bill; they were, however, forced to withdraw till the message was delivered, and they then attended their Bill in a pretty large body. They had no sooner delivered the Bill, than the outcry began again; time was not given them to see whether they would return of their own accord, but they were, in an unworthy, unprecedented manner, literally driven out of the House.

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Next day (December 12) the Duke of MANCHESTER made the motion he was prevented making the day before, and which was, to desire his Majesty would be pleased to send a proper force to Gibraltar, and the islands of Minorca and Jamaica, for their necessary and sufficient defence at this time. He shewed the naked state of all our possessions abroad, and our defenceless state at home; and all this was owing, he said, to the incapacity and pusillanimity of the King's Ministers, who were abhorred at home and despised abroad.

Motion respecting
Gibraltar.

Lord CHATHAM confirmed this melancholy state of our affairs; and added, that he had received intelligence of a plan being formed to attack Gibraltar.

Lord SANDWICH said, there might be such a plan; and what then? Gibraltar, he said, was open to the sea, and we could retake it, if we pleased; though, upon the whole, he did not think it was of much importance.

The motion was negatived.

On the 25th day of January, 1771, the Spanish Ambassador's Declaration concerning Falkland Islands being laid before Parliament, the Duke of MANCHESTER moved, that the papers respecting the negotiation be also laid before the House.

Motion respecting
the Spanish
Declaration,
1771.

Lord ROCHFORD moved an amendment, restraining the motion to the subject of Falkland Islands. Lord SANDWICH moved another

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amendment, which, the Duke of RICHMOND said, narrowed the motion. Lord SANDWICH said, his amendment, instead of narrowing, enlarged the motion; upon which,

Lord CHATHAM remarked, that this generosity, in giving more than was asked, was very suspicious; that if Administration had no objection to what was asked, why not give it without making any alteration in the motion? People would suspect that something was meant to be concealed. He said, he would not go into the matter of the Declaration; but that, upon the face of it, it appeared an *ignominious compromise*. It was no satisfaction—no reparation. The *right* was not secured, and even the *restitution* was incomplete; that Port Egmont alone was restored, not Falkland's Islands.

The amendments being negatived, the Duke of RICHMOND moved, That the letters which passed between the British and French Ministers on this subject be laid before the House.

Lord ROCHFORD said he knew of none.

Lord CHATHAM supported the Duke of RICHMOND's motion. He said, their Lordships ought never to take the word of a minister; that the refusing this motion shewed that some *transaction* with France had passed, perhaps not *papers* or *memorials*. As Lord ROCHFORD said none had passed, he believed him; but that France had *interfered*, he said, he knew to be a fact that could not be denied.

This motion was negatived.

Questions to
the Judges.

On the 5th day of February, Lord CHATHAM moved, that the following questions be put to the Judges:

" 1st. Whether, in consideration of law, the Imperial Crown of this realm can hold any territories, or possessions, thereunto belonging, otherwise than in sovereignty.

" 2dly. Whether the Declaration, or instrument for the restitution of the port and fort called Egmont, to be made by the Catholic King to his Majesty, under a reservation of disputed right of sovereignty expressed in the Declaration or instrument stipulating such restitution, can be accepted or carried into execution, without derogating

gating from the maxim of law before referred to, touching the inherent and essential dignity of the crown of Great Britain."

The motion was negatived.

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On the 13th day of February, Lord CHATHAM spoke against a motion for an address to the King on the Convention with Spain. But the Editor has not been informed that any notes of either of these speeches were taken.

On the 30th day of April, 1771, the Duke of RICHMOND made a motion to rescind the resolution of the House respecting the Middlesex Election.

Motion to rescind a resolution.

Lord CHATHAM supported this motion in the strongest and warmest terms. He entered largely into the consideration of the melancholy state of the country; the depraved system of government, which had, in a very few years, reduced us from a most flourishing to a most miserable condition. He went through the whole proceedings of the House of Commons in the late business of the Printers, and arraigned every part of it in the strongest terms. He warmly defended the City Magistrates in the conscientious discharge of their duty; that the House, in committing them to prison, without hearing their defence upon the point of privilege, had been guilty of a gross and palpable act of tyranny; that they had heard the prostituted electors of Shoreham in defence of an agreement to sell a borough by auction, and had refused to hear the Lord Mayor of London in defence of the laws of England; that their expunging, by force, the entry of a recognizance, was the act of a mob, not of a Parliament; that their daring to assume a power of stopping all prosecutions by their vote, struck at once at the whole system of the laws: that it was solely to the measures of government, equally violent and absurd, that Mr. WILKES owed all his importance; that the King's Ministers, supported by the slavish concurrence of the House of Commons, had made him a person of the greatest consequence in the kingdom; that they had made him an Alderman of the city of London, and Representative of the county of Middlesex; and now they will make him Sheriff, and, in due

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due course, Lord Mayor of London; that the proceedings of the House of Commons, in regard to this gentleman, made the very name of Parliament ridiculous; that after repeated resolutions, by which they had declared him amenable to their jurisdiction, they had shamefully abandoned the point at last, and, in the face of the world, acknowledged him to be their master. That there remained but one possible remedy for the disorders, with which the government of this country was universally infected; that to save the name and institution of Parliaments from contempt, this House of Commons must be dissolved. This, he hoped, might restore good government on one side — good humour and tranquillity on the other; yet that this was rather a hope in him than any sanguine expectation. He feared that it might prove only a temporary and partial remedy; that to resist the enormous influence of the Crown, some stronger barriers must be erected in defence of the constitution. That formerly the inconveniences of shortening the duration of Parliaments had great weight with him; but now it was no longer a question of convenience; the *Summa Rerum* is at stake; your whole constitution is giving way; and, therefore, with the most deliberate and solemn conviction of his understanding, he now declared himself a *Convert to Triennial Parliaments*. His Lordship concluded with desiring that the House might be summoned for next day, declaring his intention to move an Address for the dissolution of the present Parliament.—The motion was negatived.

To address the
King to dissolve
the Parliament.

Accordingly, on Wednesday the first of May, which was next day, his Lordship moved, “That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, most dutifully and earnestly beseeching his Majesty, that under the late violations of the rights of the Electors of Great Britain, in the election for Middlesex, still unredressed, and in the present conflict which has so unhappily arisen between the claims of the House of Commons on one side, and those of the people on the other, his Majesty will, in his paternal wisdom, deign to open the way to compose this alarming warfare; and that, in order to prevent the said House, and the Nation, from being involved in intemperate discussions of undefined powers, which in the extreme may endanger the

con-

constitution, and tend to shake the tranquility of the kingdom, his Majesty will be graciously pleased to recur to the recent sense of his people, by dissolving, after the end of this session, the present Parliament, and calling, with convenient dispatch, a new Parliament."

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Having gone through all the arguments which had been formerly used on this subject, he said, towards the conclusion of his speech, that though no man prided himself more on his attachments to his native country, yet the proceedings of those people who called themselves its governors, had rendered it so disagreeable to him, that was he but ten years younger, he would spend the remainder of his days in a country (meaning America) which had already given such earnestness of its independent spirit; nor should my advanced age (continued he) even *now* prevent me, did not considerations of the last consequence (my bodily infirmities) interfere.—The motion was negatived.

The session ended on the 8th of May, 1771.

C H A P. XLI.

Two interesting Anecdotes of the Origin of the American War—Impositions upon the People of England—Lord Chatham's Speech against the Bill for quartering Troops in America—His Speech against the Quebec Bill—His Letters to Mr. Sayre.

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DURING the two succeeding sessions Lord CHATHAM did not attend Parliament. Recent experience had convinced him, that his eloquence, his sagacity, his penetration, were of no estimation, in an assembly, where arguments more *tangible* than words, had made so deep an impression upon the majority, that no language, no sense of honour or of danger, had power to awaken them to a just conception of their own disgrace and servility.

1774.

In the year 1774, the affairs of America brought him forward again. Nothing else could. He resolved to make every attempt he was able, to avert the destruction, which he saw was inseparably attached to the measures the Ministry were pursuing.

Two interesting
anecdotes of the
origin of the
American war.

The History of the rise and progress of the American war, has been given in several books. But there are two Facts, respecting its origin, which seem to have escaped the observation their importance deserves.

Anecdote the
first.

The first is respecting the East India Company.—When the duties to be paid in America on paper, paint, and glass, were repealed

repealed, it was pretended, that the Tea duty (which had been imposed by the same Act of Parliament) was left standing, to *serve* the Company. But this was not the fact. The tax was left unrepealed to preserve the *right*, as it was called, to tax the Colonies. That was the *true* motive. The *service* of the East India Company made no part of the consideration. The tea sent to Boston was that sort called *Bohea*, which was conferring no favour on the Company, but the reverse; for that sort of tea was no burden to the Company. It was the sort called *Single*, which lay heavy on their hands, and of which all their warehouses were full. But the resolution was agreed to in a *private* Committee, when only *three* persons were present: Mr. BOLTON was chairman. A matter of such importance ought to have been agitated in a full Committee, which consists of eleven. The truth is, the *Bohea* was more saleable than the *Single*; it was therefore, the resolution of the Cabinet to send the most saleable: presuming, that the temptation to purchase being greater by the offer of good tea, than by the offer of an inferior sort, some of the Americans might be thereby induced to barter liberty for luxury, and, perhaps, a schism might be created amongst them. Had the question of determining the kind of tea to be sent to America, been agitated in a full Committee, it is more than probable, that the interests of the Company would have prevailed over the views of the Court. When the Directors were informed of the conduct of the Committee, they explained this distinction of the tea to the Ministry, and wished to have the *Single* substituted. But the Ministry would not consent. It was again objected to, at the Minister's house. To the last application, Lord NORTH, being perhaps wearied with representations on the subject, said—"It was to no purpose

making objections, for the — would have it so. These were his Lordship's words: and he added, "*That the — meant to try the question with America **."

* The Author of *Historical Remarks on the Taxation of Free States*, formerly a respectable Member of Parliament*, written in the year 1778, relates an anecdote of English taxation, which, as the book is in few hands, it may not be improper to insert here.

"It was told me, says the Author, by an intelligent and most respectable Member of the last Parliament (Mr. WHITE, of Redford). That worthy old gentleman lived in friendship with Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, and I believe is the only man of that description, who never took an emolument from the *Minister*. He gave me this account of his giving up the Excise-scheme. The bill, having been opposed in every stage, was ordered to be reported. The question for its being reported, was carried by a majority of sixty. The nation was in a ferment and there had been some dangerous riots.

"On the evening before the report, Sir ROBERT summoned a meeting of the principal Members, who had supported the Bill. It was very largely attended. He reserved his own opinion till the last: But perseverance was the unanimous voice. It was said, all taxes were obnoxious, and there would be an end of supplies, if mobs were to controul the Legislature in the manner of raising them. When Sir ROBERT had heard them all, he assured them, "How conscious he was of having meant well; but in the present inflamed temper of the people, the act could not be carried into execution without an armed force. That there would be an end of the liberty of England, if supplies were to be raised by the sword. If, therefore, the resolution was, to go on with the Bill, he would immediately wait upon the King and desire his Majesty's permission to resign his office; for he would not be the Minister to enforce taxes, at the expence of blood."

"No person appearing desirous of taking that office upon himself, Sir ROBERT gave notice, that he would adjourn the report for six months, which he did the next day.

"Tyranny is known, not by the foil, but by the fruits. And the hardest slaveries have been suffered in those States, where the forms of a free Constitution remain; but where a spirit of justice, liberty and virtue exists no more." p.p. 80 and 81.

And in another place, he translates these words from Aristotle, "Tyrants, therefore, love to be served by the worst of men; they delight in servility; and their measures require an implicit obedience, to which men of liberal spirit cannot stoop."

* For Liverpool.

§ Polit. 1. 5, c. 120.

The other is respecting the proceedings at Boston.—The tea was consigned to the Governor's son at Boston. When the vessels with the tea arrived there, the people assembled on the wharfs in great multitudes, in order to prevent the tea being landed. Several merchants, and other persons of the first consequence in Boston, solemnly assured the Captains of the vessels, that the inhabitants of the town were unanimously resolved not to suffer the tea to be landed. The Captains finding this opposition, solicited the Governor's permission to return to England: for the King's ships were stationed in such a position at the mouth of the harbour, that no vessel could escape their vigilance. The Governor answered, that he could not permit them to depart until they had obtained proper clearances. The officers of the Customs refused to grant clearances until their cargoes were landed. This legal precision was not observed at the other ports in America, where the Captains finding they could not land their cargoes of tea, were permitted to return to Europe, without breaking bulk. But Boston seems to have been the place fixed upon *to try the question*. If the Governor had assisted the Captains, the tea might have been landed without much difficulty: it might have been put into the barges of the men of war, then lying there, and being escorted by the marines, it might have been safely lodged in the King's warehouses. But the design was otherwise. The Captains were obliged to connive at the destruction of the tea, in order to obtain their clearances, to return to England. The town was afterwards punished for this act of necessity, which might have been avoided. Thus the civil war was *created—to try the question* *"

* Nothing can more strongly shew the fixed resolution of the Court on this point, than the words of his Majesty's answers, to the many petitions which were presented to him, beseeching and imploring him, repeatedly, to preserve his dominions. The reader will find them in the Appendix.

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Impositions
upon the people
of England.

And the Governor (HUTCHINSON) was afterwards rewarded with a large pension.—There were many other provocations given to the Americans, besides the Tea Act; all uniformly tending to exasperate them to resistance.

Upon this occasion the Ministry resorted to the same methods to deceive the nation, which had been so successfully practised during the Administration of the Earl of BUTE, viz. *Hiring a number of writers, hiring a number of newspapers, and printing an immense number of pamphlets*, which were sent, free of postage and expence, to every part of the kingdom. At the same time, writers and printers, who presumed to arraign the conduct of Ministers, were prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench. Addresses, highly flattering to Ministers in their contest with America, were procured from every venal borough and town. By the hired pens of Dr. S. Johnson, Messrs. Dalrymple, Macpherson, Stewart, Lind, Knox, Mauduit, &c. and other artifices, the nation was again deluded and duped. Upon this particular subject, to impose on the people, and reconcile them to this war of felony and suicide, Ministers had the assistance of another description of men, who were not less zealous, and, if possible, more dangerous. These were the American refugees—who were driven out of their own country, because they were traitors to it. These unceasingly practised the most diabolical impositions, through the channels of all the newspapers; and by pamphlets, arraigning the conduct of the British officers, in the basest terms; and possessing a geographical knowledge of the country, they were enabled to give a specious appearance of veracity, to the most infamous falsehoods.—It is necessary to

mention

mention these impositions, for although every material circumstance relating to this contest, has been published in some shape or other, yet it will require a nice discriminating eye, and a correct judgment, to distinguish, on many points, the true from the false, representation—so artful and plausible, sometimes is the last.

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On the 27th day of May 1774, Lord CHATHAM attended the House of Lords, on the third reading of a bill for quartering soldiers in America. He said,

My Lords, the unfavourable state of health under which I have long laboured, could not prevent me from laying before your Lordships my thoughts on the bill now upon the table, and on the American affairs in general.

Lord Chatham's
speech against
quartering
troops in Ame-
rica.

If we take a transient view of those motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow-subjects in America to leave their native country, to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored regions of the western world, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will naturally subside. There was no corner of the world into which men of their free and enterprising spirit would not fly with alacrity, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical principles, which prevailed at that period in their native country. And shall we wonder, my Lords, if the descendants of such illustrious characters spurn, with contempt, the hand of unconstitutional power, that would snatch from them such dear-bought privileges as they now contend for? Had the British Colonies been planted by any other kingdom than our own, the inhabitants would have carried with them the chains of slavery, and spirit of despotism; but as they are, they ought to be remembered as great instances to instruct the world, what great exertions mankind will naturally make, when they are left to the free exercise of their own powers. And, my Lords, notwithstanding my intention to give my hearty negative to the question now before you, I cannot help condemning, in the severest manner, the late turbulent and unwarrantable conduct of the Americans.

Americans in some instances, particularly in the late riots of Boston. But, my Lords, the mode which has been pursued to bring them back to a sense of their duty to their parent state, has been so diametrically opposite to the fundamental principles of sound policy, that individuals, possessed of common understanding, must be astonished at such proceedings. By blocking up the harbour of Boston, you have involved the innocent trader in the same punishment with the guilty profligates who destroyed your merchandize; and instead of making a well concerted effort to secure the real offenders, you clap a naval and military extinguisher over their harbour, and punish the crime of a few lawless depredators and their abettors, upon the whole body of the inhabitants.

My Lords, this country is little obliged to the framers and promoters of this tea-tax. The Americans had almost forgot, in their excess of gratitude for the repeal of the stamp act, any interest but that of the mother country; there seemed an emulation among the different provinces, who should be most dutiful and forward in their expressions of loyalty to their real benefactor; as you will readily perceive by the following extract of a letter from Governor BERNARD to a noble Lord then in office:

“ The House of Representatives, (says he) from the time of opening the session to this day, has shewn a disposition to avoid all dispute with me; every thing having passed with as much good humour as I could desire. They have acted, in all things, with temper and moderation; they have avoided some subjects of dispute, and have laid a foundation for removing some causes of former altercation.”

This, my Lords, was the temper of the Americans; and would have continued so, had it not been interrupted by your fruitless endeavours to tax them without their consent: but the moment they perceived your intention was renewed to tax them, under a pretence of serving the East India Company, their resentment got the ascendant of their moderation, and hurried them into actions contrary to law, which, in their cooler hours, they would have thought on with horror; for I sincerely believe, the destroying of the tea was the effect of despair.

But

But, my Lords, from the complexion of the whole of the proceedings, I think that Administration has purposely irritated them into those late violent acts, for which they now so severely smart; purposely to be revenged on them for the victory they gained by the repeal of the stamp act; a measure to which they seemingly acquiesced, but at the bottom they were its real enemies. For what other motive could induce them to dress taxation, that father of American sedition, in the robes of an East India Director, but to break in upon that mutual peace and harmony, which then so happily subsisted between them and the mother country?

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My Lords, I am an old man, and would advise the noble Lords now in office to adopt a more gentle mode of governing America; for the day is not far distant, when America may vie with these kingdoms, not only in arms, but in arts also. It is an established fact, that the principal towns in America are learned and polite, and understand the constitution of the empire as well as the noble Lords who are now in office; and consequently, they will have a watchful eye over their liberties, to prevent the least encroachment on their hereditary rights.

This observation is so recently exemplified in an excellent pamphlet, which comes from the pen of an American gentleman, that I shall take the liberty of reading to your Lordships his thoughts on the competency of the British Parliament to tax America, which, in my opinion, puts this interesting matter in the clearest view.

“ The High Court of Parliament (says he) is the supreme legislative power over the whole empire; in all free states the constitution is fixed; and as the supreme legislature derives its power and authority from the constitution, it cannot overleap the bonds of it, without destroying its own foundation. The constitution ascertains and limits both sovereignty and allegiance: and therefore his Majesty’s American subjects, who acknowledge themselves bound by the ties of allegiance, have an equitable claim to the full enjoyment of the fundamental rules of the English constitution; and that it is an essential unalterable right in nature, ingrafted into the British constitution as a fundamental law, and ever held sacred and

“ irrevoc-

"irrevocable by the subjects within the realm—that what a man has honestly acquired, is absolutely his own; which he may freely give, but which cannot be taken from him without his consent."

This, my Lords, though no new doctrine, has always been my received and unalterable opinion, and I will carry it to my grave, *that this country had no right under heaven to tax America.* It is contrary to all the principles of justice and civil policy, which neither the exigencies of the state, nor even an acquiescence in the taxes, could justify upon any occasion whatever. Such proceedings will never meet with their wished-for success; and, instead of adding to their miseries, as the bill now before you most undoubtedly does, adopt some lenient measures, which may lure them to their duty; proceed like a kind and affectionate parent over a child whom he tenderly loves; and, instead of those harsh and severe proceedings, pass an amnesty on all their youthful errors; clasp them once more in your fond and affectionate arms; and I will venture to affirm, you will find them children worthy of their fire. But should their turbulence exist after your proffered terms of forgiveness, which I hope and expect this House will immediately adopt, I will be among the foremost of your Lordships to move for such measures as will effectually prevent a future relapse, and make them feel what it is to provoke a fond and forgiving parent! a parent, my Lords, whose welfare has ever been my greatest and most pleasing consolation. This declaration may seem unnecessary; but I will venture to declare, the period is not far distant, when she will want the assistance of her most distant friends: but should the all-disposing hand of Providence prevent me from affording her my poor assistance, my prayers shall be ever for her welfare—*Length of days be in her right hand, and in her left riches and honour; may her ways be ways of pleasantness, and all her paths be peace.*

The bill passed.

Lord CHATHAM also attended on the seventeenth day of June 1774, on the reading of the Quebec Bill, which he likewise opposed.

He

He said, it would involve a large province in a thousand difficulties, and in the worst of despotism, and put the whole people under arbitrary power; that it was a most cruel, oppressive, and odious measure, tearing up justice and every good principle by the roots; that by abolishing the trial by Jury, together with the Habeas Corpus, he supposed the framers of the bill thought that mode of proceeding most satisfactory; whilst every true Englishman was ready to lay down his life sooner than lose those two bulwarks of his personal security and property. The merely supposing that the Canadians would not be able to feel the good effects of law and freedom, because they had been used to arbitrary power, was an idea as ridiculous as false. He said, the bill established a despotic government in that country, to which the royal proclamation of 1763 promised the protection of the English laws. Here the noble Lord read part of the proclamation; and then entered into the power vested in the Governor and Council; the whole mode of which, he said, was tyrannical and despotic. He was particular on the bad consequences that would attend the great extension of that province; that the whole of the bill appeared to him to be destructive of that liberty, which ought to be the ground-work of every constitution. Ten thousand objections, he was confident, might be made to the bill; but the extinction of the mode of trial above mentioned was a very alarming circumstance, and he would pronounce him a bold man who proposed such a plan.

When his Lordship came to the religious part of the bill, he directed his discourse to the Bench of Bishops, telling them, that as by the bill the Catholic religion was made the established religion of that vast continent, it was impossible they could be silent on the occasion. He called the bill a child of inordinate power, and desired and asked if any of that Reverend Bench would hold it out for baptism. He touched again up the unlimited power of the Governor in appointing all the members, and who might consist of Roman Catholics only.

He also took notice of an amendment which had been made in the House of Commons, which was a new clause, repealing so much of the Act of Reformation of the 1st of Elizabeth as relates to the Oath of Supremacy, and substituting a common oath of allegiance in its

place. This act of Elizabeth, he said, had always been looked upon as one that the legislature had no more right to repeal, than they had the Great Charter, or the Bill of Rights—But in this he was greatly mistaken; for though several of the Reverend Bench were present, not one of them made the smallest objection to the clause; they all divided with the Ministry.

The Duke of GLOUCESTER divided with Lord CHATHAM against the Bill, but they were in a minority.

The session ended on the twenty-second day of June, and on the last day of September the Parliament was suddenly dissolved*.

Lord CHATHAM's anxiety on the affairs of America may be further seen in the following letters:

Letters to Mr.
Sayre.

S I R,

Hayes, Saturday evening, July 9, 1774.

I AM honoured with a very obliging packet by your servant, containing such marks of your kind and flattering attention to me, and my son, as command more thanks and acknowledgments than this short note, wrote in haste, can possibly convey. Such as they are, which I present in abundance, I beg you will accept, for the sincerity with which they are offered. Nothing can be so interesting in the present critical moment, as authentic information relating to America. I shall therefore esteem it a particular favour, to receive such communications from you in any way most convenient to yourself.

I am,

With great regard and consideration,

Sir, your most obedient

And most humble servant,

*To Mr. Sheriff Sayre,
Stratford Place, Oxford Road.*

CHATHAM.

* During the summer, Lord MANSFIELD went to Paris. At this time the Court of Great Britain may be said to have had *three* ambassadors at the Court of France—Lord STORMONT, the official; Mr. FORTH, the confidential; and Lord MANSFIELD, the efficient.

DEAR

DEAR SIR,

*Hayes, August 15, 1774.*CHAPTER
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INCLOSED I return to you the letter from your correspondent at New York, for the perusal of which I beg you will accept a thousand thanks. The bearer is a person of trust, and will convey it safely to your hands*. What infatuation and cruelty to accelerate the sad moment of civil war! Every step on the side of Government, in America, seems calculated to drive the Americans into open resistance, vainly hoping to crush the spirit of Liberty in that vast continent, at one successful blow; but millions must perish there before the seeds of Freedom will cease to grow and spread in so favourable a soil; and in the mean time, devoted England must sink herself, under the ruins of her own foolish and inhuman system of destruction.

I wait with extreme impatience for the next accounts; the proclamation for seizing the covenanters, denouncing an immediate issue. Perhaps the streets of Boston have already run with blood. If you receive any interesting intelligence, I shall esteem it a great favour to hear from you by the same method. I am,

With great esteem and consideration, dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

To Stephen Sayre, Esq.

CHATHAM.

Stratford Place, Oxford Road.

DEAR SIR,

Hayes, August 28, 1774.

IT is impossible to leave the very kind marks of your remembrance unacknowledged; and I acquit myself of this pleasing duty, with the real sentiments such flattering attentions must command. The royal venison, which is extremely fine, will have the better flavour by coming through the City to Hayes, and from the friendly hand of Mr. Sheriff SAYRE. Many thanks for the communication of

* He was denied the privilege of the post. It is well known, that letters to him were indecently opened, and often stopped at the Post Office.

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your honest correspondent's letter, returned herewith. It is plain, that Maryland cannot wear chains! Would to Heaven it were equally plain, that the oppressor, England, is not doomed, one day, to bind them round her own hands, and wear them patiently!

*Sævior armis**Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.*

Happily, beyond the Atlantic, this poison has not reached the heart. When then will infatuated Administration begin to fear that Freedom they cannot destroy, and which they don't know how to love? Delay is fatal, when repentance will come too late. I fear the bond of union between us and America will be cut off for ever. Devoted England will then have seen her best days, which nothing can restore again.

I am sorry to conclude with so gloomy a foreboding, in a case, where the most vulgar understanding may venture to prophecy.

I am, with great esteem and consideration,

My dear Sir,

Your most obedient

And obliged humble servant,

To Stephen Sayre, Esq.

CHATHAM.

Stratford Place, Oxford-street.

DEAR SIR,

Hayes, Saturday night, Oct. 8, 1774.

I AM but just able to hold a pen, after a severe fit of the gout, or the favour of your former kind letter, would not have been so long unacknowledged. That of the 6th instant, which reached me only this evening, adds not not a little (both from what it says, and what it does not say) to all the anxious forebodings which filled my mind on that most interesting object of all public concerns, the fate of America. What the late accounts are, I know not; surely not less momentous for being so industriously withheld.

The very kind and friendly share you have taken at the *Standard*, can never be forgot; what the events will be, I do not conjecture, because I do not understand the times. If there be a public cause,
and

and true friends of liberty, can a genuine son of freedom, and votary of public good, pure from all taint of any faction, suffer a repulse, where every elector has liberty in his mouth? In the present state of Westminster, should Mr. COTES demand a poll, it cannot be to serve the cause, or indeed, himself; for various reasons, however, I do not think it proper to trouble Lord TEMPLE on the occasion. The true friends of Liberty, are able to carry through the work of Liberty, if they please. If little manœuvres can defeat great and generous purposes, it is more than time for Virtue to retire. But I will not suppose Lord MAHON would lose his election in Westminster, even if Mr. COTES should demand a poll. I write with some difficulty; so allow me to bid you adieu, without ceremony.

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My dear Sir,
Your most faithful and obliged,

CHATHAM.

To Stephen Sayre, Esq.
Stratford Place, Oxford-street.

DEAR SIR,

Hayes, Dec. 24, 1774.

SOON after I had the pleasure of seeing you, I received the extracts from the votes and proceedings of the American Congress, printed and published by order at Philadelphia, and which had been withheld from me, as the letters to others had been. I have not words to express my satisfaction, that the Congress has conducted this most arduous and delicate business, with such manly wisdom and calm resolution, as does the highest honour to their deliberations. Very few are the things contained in their resolves, that I could wish had been otherwise. Upon the whole, I think it must be evident to every unprejudiced man in England who feels for the rights of mankind, that America, under all her oppressions and provocations, holds forth to us the most fair and just opening, for restoring harmony and affectionate intercourse as heretofore.

I trust that the minds of men are more than beginning to change on this great subject, so little understood; and, that it will be found impossible:

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impossible for freemen in England, to wish to see three millions of Englishmen slaves in America. I am,

With great esteem, dear Sir,

Your most faithful,

And obedient humble servant,

To Stephen Sayre, Esq.
Stratford Place, Oxford-street.

CHATHAM.

CHAP.

C H A P. XLII.

*Lord Chatham's Motion to withdraw the Troops from Boston—
His Bill for quieting the troubles in America—His Bill rejected
—Receives the Thanks of the City of London for his Bill.*

ON the 29th day of November, 1774, the new Parliament met. On the 20th day of January, 1775, Lord DARTMOUTH, then Secretary of State, &c. produced the official American papers.

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The Earl of CHATHAM, after strongly inveighing against the dilatoriness of Administration, &c. proceeded as follows:

Lord Chatham's
motion to with-
draw the troops
from Boston.

—" * But as I have not the honour of access to his Majesty, I will endeavour to transmit to him, through the Constitutional channel of this House, my ideas of America, to rescue him from the misadvice of his present Ministers. I congratulate your Lordships, that the business is *at last* entered upon, by the noble Lord's laying the papers before you. As I suppose your Lordship's too well apprized of their contents, I hope I am not premature, in submitting to you my present motion:

" That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly
" to desire and beseech his Majesty, that in order to open the way
" towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America,
" by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there; and
" above all, for preventing in the mean time any sudden and fatal ca-
" tastrophe at Boston, now suffering under the daily irritation of an

* This speech, and that of the 18th of November, 1777, were taken by the same gentleman; and it has been affirmed by several persons who heard the noble Lord on both days, that they contain very strong and peculiar marks of accuracy.

§ Lord DARTMOUTH.

army

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“ army before their eyes, posted in their town; it may graciously
 “ please his Majesty that immediate orders be dispatched to General
 “ GAGE, for removing his Majesty’s forces from the town of Boston,
 “ as soon as the rigour of the season, and other circumstances indif-
 “ pensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops, may
 “ render the same practicable.”—

I wish, my Lords, not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis; an hour now lost in allaying the ferment in America, may produce years of calamity: for my own part, I will not desert, for a moment, the conduct of this weighty of business, from the first to the last; unless nailed to my bed by the extremity of sickness, I will give it unre-mitted attention; I will knock at the door of this sleeping and con-founded Ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their important danger.

When I state the importance of the Colonies to this country, and the magnitude of danger hanging over this country, from the present plan of mis-administration practised against them, I desire not to be understood to argue for a reciprocity of indulgence between England and America. I contend not for indulgence, but justice to America; and I shall ever contend, that the Americans justly owe obedience to us in a limited degree—they owe obedience to our ordinances of trade and navigation; but let the line be skilfully drawn between the objects of those ordinances, and their private, internal property; let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate; let it be taxable only by their own consent, given in their provincial assemblies, else *it will cease to be property*. As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to shew that the Americans are equally free from obedience and commercial restraints, as from taxation for revenue, as being unrepresented here; I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and ground-
 less.

When I urge this measure of recalling the troops from Boston, I urge it on this pressing principle, that it is necessarily preparatory to the restoration of your peace, and the establishment of your prosperity. It will then appear that you are disposed to treat amicably and equitably; and to consider, revise, and repeal, if it should be
 found

found necessary, as I affirm it will, those violent acts and declarations which have disseminated confusion throughout your empire.

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Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just; and your vain declarations of the impotence of Parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince or enslave your fellow-subjects in America, who feel that tyranny, whether *ambitioned* by an individual part of the legislature, or the * bodies who compose it, is equally intolerable to British subjects.

The means of enforcing this thralldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice, as they are unjust in principle. Indeed I cannot but feel the most anxious sensibility for the situation of General GAGE, and the troops under his command; thinking him, as I do, a man of humanity and understanding; and entertaining, as I ever will, the highest respect, the warmest love, for the British troops. Their situation is truly unworthy; penn'd up—pinning in inglorious inactivity. They are an army of impotence. You may call them an army of safety and of guard; but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt: and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation.

But I find a report *creeping* abroad, that Ministers censure General GAGE's inactivity: let *them* censure him—it becomes them—it becomes their *justice* and their *honour*.—I mean not to censure his inactivity; it is a prudent and necessary inaction: but it is a miserable condition, where disgrace is prudence, and where it is necessary to be contemptible. This tameness, however contemptible, cannot be

* A favourite idea prevailed, and was often urged in argument by Administration, “that absolute passive obedience is due to all possible acts of the legislature, which must not, *in any case whatever*, be questioned, much less resisted by the people.” Mr. LOCKE thought otherwise. But, in truth, it is a point rather of *practical* policy. If, however, the postulum were admitted in *speculation*, the inference will not reach from Westminster to Boston. It never was proved, that our *Lords Spiritual and Temporal* had *privilege* in America; and that our *Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses*, were *their* Representatives.

censured; for the first drop of blood shed in civil and unnatural war might be *immedicabile vulnus*.

I therefore urge and conjure your Lordships, immediately to adopt this conciliating measure. I will pledge myself for its immediately producing conciliatory effects, by its being thus well-timed: but if you delay till your vain hope shall be accomplished, of triumphantly dictating reconciliation, you delay for ever. But, admitting that this hope, which in truth is desperate, should be accomplished, what do you gain by the imposition of your victorious amity?—you will be untrusted and unthanked. Adopt, then, the grace, while you have the opportunity of reconciliation; or at least prepare the way.—Allay the ferment prevailing in America, by removing the obnoxious, hostile cause—obnoxious and unserviceable; for their merit can be only in inaction: “*Non dimicare et vincere*,”—their victory can never be by exertions. Their force would be most disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands, and courage in their hearts:—three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny.—And is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings, as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity, beyond the accounts of history, or description of poetry: “*Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna, castigat que, AUDIT QUE*.” So says the wisest poet, and perhaps the wisest statesman and politician.—But our Ministers say, *the Americans must not be heard*. They have been condemned *unheard*. The indiscriminate hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty; with all the formalities of hostility, has blocked up the town* and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thousand inhabitants.

But his Majesty is advised, that the union in America cannot last. Ministers have more eyes than I, and should have more ears; but

* Boston.

with

with all the information I have been able to procure, I can pronounce it—an union, solid, permanent, and effectual. Ministers may satisfy themselves, and delude the public, with the report of what they call commercial bodies in America. They are *not* commercial; they are your packers and factors: they live upon nothing—for I call commission nothing. I mean the ministerial *authority* for this American intelligence; the runners for government, who are paid for their intelligence. But these are not the men, nor this the influence, to be considered in America, when we estimate the firmness of their union. Even to extend the question, and to take in the really mercantile circle, will be totally inadequate to the consideration. Trade indeed increases the wealth and glory of a country; but its real strength and stamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land: in their simplicity of life is found the simpleness of virtue—the integrity and courage of freedom. These true genuine sons of the earth are invincible: and they surround and hem in the mercantile bodies; even if these bodies, which supposition I totally disclaim, could be supposed disaffected to the cause of liberty. Of this general spirit existing in the British *nation*; (for so I wish to distinguish the real and genuine Americans from the pseudo-traders I have described)—of this spirit of independence*, animating the *nation* of America, I have the most authentic information. It is not new among them; it is, and has ever been, their established principle—their confirmed persuasion; it is their nature, and their doctrine.

I remember some years ago, when the repeal of the stamp act was in agitation, conversing in a friendly confidence with a person of undoubted respect and authenticity, on that subject; and he assured me,

* (*i. e.*) of legal liberty;—the *independence* of freemen, contra-distinguished to the *dependent* state of slaves. It was thought necessary to specify this idea, lest Lord CHATHAM should have been misconceived to have imputed to America an original *wish of disconnexion* from this country. On the contrary, when that fatal event did occur, his Lordship attributed it to a very different cause from the *inclination* of America — “That state of independency into which your measures hitherto have driven her.”—See his Lordship’s Speech, on the 18th of Nov. 1777.

with a certainty which his judgment and opportunity gave him, that these were the prevalent and steady principles of America — That you might destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniencies of life; but that they were prepared to despise your power, and would not lament their loss, whilst they have — what, my Lords? — their *woods* and their *liberty*. The name of my authority, if I am called upon, will authenticate the opinion irrefragably.

If illegal violences have been, as it is said, committed in America; prepare the way, open the door of possibility, for acknowledgment and satisfaction: but proceed not to such coercion, such proscription; cease your indiscriminate inflictions; amerce not thirty thousand; oppress not three millions, for the fault of forty or fifty. Such severity of injustice must for ever render incurable the wounds you have already given your colonies: you irritate them to unappeasable rancour. What though you march from town to town, and from province to province; though you should be able to enforce a temporary and local submission, which I only suppose, not admit — how shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you in your progress, to grafs the dominion of eighteen hundred miles of continent, populous in valour, liberty, and resistance?

This resistance to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen: it was obvious from the nature of things, and of mankind; and above all, from the Whiggish spirit flourishing in that country. The spirit which now resists your taxation in America, is the * same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money, in England: the same spirit which called all England *on its legs*, and by the Bill of Rights vindicated the English constitution,

* Not so, according to the political logic of Administration; which would prove the *Toryism* of “this American spirit.” In the debate for an address, on the first day of the session, Oct. 26, 1775, Mr. Fox urged, with his usual ability, what he conceived to be Whig principles; principles consulting the good of the *governed*, rather than the *governors*; principles jealously securing the *rights of the people* against every encroachment of power: and these, he thought, had some relation to the cause and conduct of America.

the

the same spirit which established the great, fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, *that no subject of England shall be taxed by his own consent.*

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This glorious spirit of Whiggism animates three millions in America; who prefer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains and sordid affluence; and who will die in defence of the rights as men, as freemen. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial glame glowing in the breasts of every Whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers? Ireland they have to a man. In that country, joined as it is with the cause of the Colonies, and placed at their head, the distinction I contend for is and must be observed. This country superintends and controuls their trade and navigation; but they *tax themselves*. And this distinction between external and internal controul is sacred and insurmountable; it is involved in the abstract nature of things. Property is private, individual, absolute. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration: it reaches as far as ships can sail or winds can blow: it is a great and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of its several parts, and combine them into effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power in the empire. But this supreme power has no effect towards internal taxation; for it does not exist in that relation: there is no such thing, *no such idea in this constitution, as a supreme power operating upon property*. Let this distinction then remain for ever ascertained; taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As an American I would recognize to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation: as an Englishman by birth and principle, I recognize to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property; a right which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity. To maintain this principle, is the common cause of the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic, and on this—*'Tis liberty to liberty engaged,* that they will defend themselves, their families, and their country. In this great cause they are immoveably allied: it is the alliance of God and nature—immutable, eternal—fixed as the firmament of heaven.

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To such united force, what force shall be opposed?—What, my Lords?—A few regiments in America, and seventeen or eighteen thousand men at home!—The idea is too ridiculous to take up a moment of your Lordship's time. Nor can such a national and principled union be resisted by the tricks of office, or Ministerial manœuvre. Laying of papers on your table, or counting noses on a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger: it must arrive, my Lords, unless these fatal acts are done away; it must arrive in all its horrors, and then these boastful Ministers, spite of all their confidence, and all their manœuvres, shall be forced to hide their heads. They shall be forced to a disgraceful abandonment of their present measures and principles, which they avow, but cannot defend; measures which they presume to attempt, but cannot hope to effectuate. They cannot, my Lords, they cannot stir a step; they have not a *move** left; they are *check-mated*.

But it is not repealing this act of Parliament, it is not repealing a *piece of parchment*, that can restore America to our bosom: you must repeal her fears and her resentments; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted with an armed force, posted at Boston; irritated with an hostile array before her eyes, her concessions, if you *could* force them, would be suspicious and insecure; they will be *irato animo*; they will not be the sound honourable passions of freemen; they will be the dictates of fear, and extortions of force. But it is more than evident, that you cannot force them unprincipled

* An allusion to the game of Chess.—The *King* is the object of the game; and therefore the most valuable, though not the most powerful, piece on the board. *Check-mate* is that situation where he is so weakly supported by his pieces, or so entangled by their injudicious disposition, that he cannot escape. This danger is often incurred by exposing himself too much, and taking too active a part in the game. Vide Philidor.—It is certainly a noble and royal pastime. CHARLES I. was actually playing at it in the Scots camp, when intelligence was brought to him of their final resolution to betray him. In due praise of the royal steadiness, the historian observes, that “he continued his game without interruption.” See Hume's Hist. of England:—or, as Lord CHATHAM once called it, “his *apology* for the House of STUART.”

and

and united as they are, to your unworthy terms of submission—it is impossible: And when I hear General GAGE censured for inactivity, I must retort with indignation on those, whose intemperate measures and improvident councils have betrayed him into his present situation. His situation reminds me, my Lords, of the answer of a French General in the civil wars of France—Monsieur CONDE opposed to Monsieur TURENNE: he was asked, how it happened that he did not take his adversary prisoner, as he was often very near him: “J’ai peur,” replied CONDE, very honestly, “J’ai peur qu’il ne me prenne;”—*I’m afraid he’ll take me.*

When your Lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation—and it has been my favourite study—I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation, or body of men can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your Lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall be forced ultimately to retract; let us retract while we can, not when we must. I say we must necessarily undo these violent oppressive acts*: they must be repealed;—you will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them; I stake my reputation on it:—I will consent to be taken for an idiot, if they are not finally repealed.---Avoid, then, this humiliating, disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to

* Acts of Parliament passed the preceding session; for shutting up the port of Boston; altering the charter of Massachusetts Bay, &c. The noble Speaker’s prediction was strictly verified; the repeal of these acts was at last, after three years fruitless war, sent out as a peace-offering to the Congress of America; by whom it was treated with contempt.

peace and happiness: for *that* is your true dignity, to act with prudence and justice. That *you* should first concede, is obvious, from sound and rational policy. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power; it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men; and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude.

So thought a wise poet and a wise man in political sagacity; the friend of Mæcenas, and the eulogist of Augustus.—To him, the adopted son and successor the first Cæsar, to him, the master of the world, he wisely urged this conduct of prudence and dignity; “*Tuque prior, tu parce; projice tela manu.*”

Every motive, therefore, of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America,—by a removal of your troops from Boston,—by a repeal of your acts of Parliament; and by demonstration of amicable dispositions towards your Colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures.—Foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread: France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors;—with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your Colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.

To conclude, my Lords: If the Ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say, that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm, *that they will make the crown not worth his wearing.*—I will not say that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce, *that the kingdom is undone.*”

The Editor of the preceding Speech, added the following explanatory observations:

“The reader will recollect, that the motion which accompanied the preceding speech, for removing his Majesty’s troops from Boston, was urged by the noble Speaker expressly on the ground of *peaceably* accommodating the dispute with America. He will remember

member that the only ground of dispute then, was the *taxation of that country claimed by this*; the attempted exercise of which, had produced a riot at Boston. The *Independence* of America was not then in contemplation: unless in the reveries of a reverend writer* on the subject, who maintained a proposition, memorable only for its *singularity*, that the independence of America would be a beneficial event to England."—To the Americans it never occurred, unless for the refutation of some injurious suspicions, by the most solemn, absolute, and express disavowal.

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"The noble Lord's motion was, however, rejected: and hostilities commenced at Lexington, on the 19th of the following April.

"It is unnecessary to particularize the subsequent events. They are too well known, too severely felt, by every friend of his country†. "*Years of Calamity*" fatally fulfil the prophecy of Lord CHATHAM. The British Empire has sustained the "*immedicabile vulnus*" which his wisdom would have averted.—How he would have corrected the disorder at its *crisis*, before it attained its desperate malignity, will be seen in his Lordship's speech, on the eighteenth of November, 1777. His Majesty's speech on that day expressed the "*Confidence*" and "*Hopes*" of his Ministers; and they may fairly stand in contrast with the opinions of Lord CHATHAM. Let history form the comment."

On the first day of February 1775, Lord CHATHAM offered to the House of Lords a bill for quieting the troubles in America, which he introduced with saying, that he offered it as a *basis* for averting the dangers which now threatened the British empire; and he hoped, he said, that it would meet with the approbation of every side of the House. He proceeded to state the urgent necessity of such a plan; as, perhaps, a period of a few hours might for ever defeat the possibility of any such conciliatory intervention. He represented Great Britain and

His bill for quiet-
ing the troubles
in America.

* Dr. TUCKER.

† The infinite number of taxes laid upon the people of Great Britain, from the year 1775 to the year 1782, may be justly imputed to the American war.

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S

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America as drawn up in martial array, waiting for the signal to engage in a contest, in which it was little matter for whom victory declared, as ruin and destruction must be the inevitable consequence to both parties. He wished, he said, from a principle of duty and affection, to act the part of a mediator. He said, however, that no regard for popularity, no predilection for his country, not the high esteem he entertained for America on the one hand, nor the unalterable steady regard he entertained for the dignity of Great Britain on the other, should at all influence his conduct; for though he loved the Americans, as men prizing and setting the just value on that inestimable blessing, Liberty; yet if he could once bring himself to be persuaded, that they entertained the most distant intentions of throwing off the legislative supremacy and great constitutional superintending power and controul of the British legislature, he should be the very person himself, who would be the first and most zealous mover for securing and enforcing that power by every possible exertion this country was capable of making. He recurred to his former arguments, on the great constitutional question of taxation and representation; insisted they were inseparable, and planted so deeply in the vital principles of the constitution, as never to be torn up, without destroying and pulling asunder every band of legal government and good faith, which formed the cement that united its several constituent parts together. He intreated the assistance of the House to digest the crude materials which he presumed to lay before it, and to reduce his bill to that form, which was suited to the dignity and the importance of that subject, and to the great ends to which it was ultimately directed. He called on them to exercise their candour on the present occasion, and deprecated the effects of party or prejudice, of factious spleen or blind predilection. He avowed himself to be actuated by no narrow principle, or personal consideration whatever; for though the present bill might be looked upon as a bill of concession, it was impossible but to confess at the same time that it was a bill of assertion.

The following is an authentic copy of the proposed bill.

“ A pro-

"A provisional act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the Colonies.

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"Whereas, by an act 6 Geo. III. it is declared, that Parliament has full power and authority to make laws and statutes to bind the people of the Colonies, in all cases whatsoever: and whereas reiterated complaints and most dangerous disorders have grown, touching the right of taxation claimed and exercised over America, to the disturbance of peace and good order there, and to the actual interruption of the due intercourse from Great Britain and Ireland to the Colonies, deeply affecting the navigation, trade, and manufactures of this kingdom and of Ireland, and announcing farther an interruption of all exports from the said Colonies to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Islands in America: Now, for prevention of these ruinous mischiefs, and in order to an equitable, honourable, and lasting settlement of claims not sufficiently ascertained and circumscribed, May it please your most Excellent Majesty, that it may be declared, and be it declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the Colonies of America have been, are, and of right ought to be, dependent upon the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, and subordinate unto the British Parliament; and that the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the British Colonies in America, in all matters touching the general weal of the whole dominion of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, and beyond the competency of the local representative of a distinct colony; and most especially an indubitable and indispenfible right to make and ordain laws for regulating navigation and trade throughout the complicated system of British commerce; the deep policy of such prudent acts upholding the guardian navy of the whole British empire; and that all subjects in the Colo-

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nies are bound in duty and allegiance duly to recognize and obey (and they are hereby required so to do) the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of the Parliament of Great Britain, as aforesaid. And whereas, in a petition from America to his Majesty, it has been represented, that the keeping a standing army within any of the Colonies, in time of peace, without consent of the respective Provincial Assembly there, is against law: Be it declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, that the Declaration of Right, at the ever-glorious Revolution, namely, "That the raising and keeping a standing army within the kingdom, in time of peace, unless it be by the consent of Parliament, is against law," having reference only to the consent of the Parliament of Great Britain, the legal, constitutional, and hitherto unquestioned prerogative of the Crown, to send any part of such army, so lawfully kept, to any of the British dominions and possessions, whether in America or elsewhere, as his Majesty, in the due care of his subjects, may judge necessary for the security and protection of the same, cannot be rendered dependent upon the consent of a Provincial Assembly in the Colonies, without a most dangerous innovation, and derogation from the dignity of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain. Nevertheless, in order to quiet and dispel groundless jealousies and fears, be it hereby declared, That no military force, however raised, and kept according to law, can ever be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the just rights of the people. Moreover, in order to remove for ever all causes of pernicious discord, and in due contemplation of the vast increase of possessions and population in the Colonies; and having at heart to render the condition of so great a body of industrious subjects there more and more happy, by the sacredness of property and of personal liberty, and of more extensive and lasting utility to the parent kingdom, by indissoluble ties of mutual affection, confidence, trade, and reciprocal benefits, Be it declared and enacted, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and it is hereby declared and enacted

enacted by the authority of the same, That no tallage, tax, or other charge for his Majesty's revenue, shall be commanded or levied, from British freemen in America, without common consent, by act of Provincial Assembly there, duly convened for that purpose. And it is hereby further declared and enacted, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall and may be lawful for delegates from the respective provinces, lately assembled at Philadelphia, to meet in general Congress at the said city of Philadelphia, on the 9th day of May next ensuing, in order then and there to take into consideration the making due recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Parliament over the Colonies, as aforesaid. And moreover, may it please your most Excellent Majesty, that the said Delegates, to be in Congress assembled in manner aforesaid, may be required, and the same are hereby required, by the King's Majesty sitting in his Parliament, to take into consideration (over and above the usual charge for support of civil government in the respective Colonies) the making a free grant to the King, his heirs and successors, of a certain perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of the British Parliament, to be by them appropriated as they in their wisdom shall judge fit, to the alleviation of the national debt: no doubt being had but this just, free aid, will be in such honourable proportion as may seem meet and becoming from great and flourishing colonies towards a parent country labouring under the heaviest burdens, which, in no inconsiderable part, have been willingly taken upon ourselves and posterity, for the defence, extension, and prosperity of the Colonies. And, to this great end, be it farther hereby declared and enacted, that the general Congress (to meet at Philadelphia as aforesaid) shall be, and is hereby authorized and empowered (the Delegates composing the same being first sufficiently furnished with powers from their respective provinces for this purpose) to adjust and fix the proportions and quotas of the several charges to be borne by each province respectively, towards the general contributory supply; and this in such fair and equitable measure,

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measure, as may best suit the abilities and due convenience of all: Provided always, that the powers for fixing the said quotas, hereby given to the delegates from the old provinces composing the Congress, shall not extend to the new provinces of East and West Florida, Georgia, Nova Scotia, St. John's, and Canada; the circumstances and abilities of the said provinces being reserved for the wisdom of Parliament in their due time. And in order to afford necessary time for mature deliberation in America, be it hereby declared, That the provisions for ascertaining and fixing the exercise of the right of taxation in the Colonies, as agreed and expressed by this present act, shall not be in force, or have any operation, until the delegates to be in Congress assembled, sufficiently authorized and empowered by their respective provinces to this end, shall, as an indispensable condition, have duly recognized the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of the Parliament of Great Britain over the Colonies as aforesaid: Always understood, That the free grant of an aid, as heretofore required and expected from the Colonies, is not to be considered as a condition of redress, but as a just testimony of their affection. And whereas divers acts of Parliament have been humbly represented, in a petition to his Majesty from America, to have been found grievous, in whole or in part, to the subjects of the Colonies, be it hereby declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the powers of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty Courts in America shall be restrained within their ancient limits, and the Trial by Jury, in all civil cases, where the same may have been abolished, restored: And that no subject in America shall, in capital cases, be liable to be indicted and tried for the same, in any place out of the province wherein such offence shall be alledged to have been committed, nor be deprived of a trial by his peers of the vicinage; nor shall it be lawful to send persons, indicted for murder in any province of America, to another colony, or to Great Britain, for trial. And be it hereby declared and enacted, by the authority

authority aforesaid, That all and every the said acts, or so much thereof as are represented to have been found grievous, namely, the several acts of the 4th Geo. III. ch. 15. and ch. 34.—5th Geo. III. ch. 25.—6th Geo. III. ch. 52.—7th Geo. III. ch. 41. and ch. 46.—8th Geo. III. ch. 22.—12th Geo. III. ch. 24.—with the three acts for stopping the port, and blocking up the harbour of Boston; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay; and that entitled, An act for the better administration of justice, &c.; also the act for regulating the government of Quebec, and the act passed in the same session relating to the quarters of soldiers, shall be, and are hereby suspended, and not to have effect or execution, from the date of this act. And be it moreover hereby declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the before-recited acts, or the parts thereof complained of, shall be and are, in virtue of this present act, finally repealed and annulled, from the day that the new recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Parliament over the Colonies shall have been made on the part of the said Colonies.

And for the better securing due and impartial administration of justice in the Colonies, be it declared and enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, That his Majesty's Judges in Courts of Law in the Colonies of America, to be appointed with salaries by the Crown, shall hold their offices and salaries as his Majesty's Judges in England, *quandiu se bene gesserint*. And it is hereby further declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the Colonies in America are justly entitled to the privileges, franchises, and immunities granted by their several Charters or Constitutions; and that the said Charters or Constitutions ought not to be invaded or resumed, unless for misuser, or some legal ground of forfeiture. So shall true reconciliation avert impending calamities, and this solemn national accord between Great Britain and her Colonies stand an everlasting monument of clemency and magnanimity in the benignant father of his people, of wisdom and moderation in this great nation, famed for humanity as for valour, and of fidelity and grateful affection

affection from brave and loyal Colonies to their parent kingdom, which will ever protect and cherish them.

Lord SANDWICH moved to reject the Bill. Lord GOWER reprobated the Bill with extraordinary asperity. The Duke of GRAFTON said the Bill was unparliamentary.

Lord CHATHAM replied to the several objections which fell from the members of Administration: he descanted with equal humour and severity upon the very extraordinary logic employed by the noble Duke, his *quondam* colleague in office, and very humble servant. The noble Duke, says his Lordship is extremely angry with me, that I did not previously consult him on the bringing in the present bill: I would ask the noble Duke, does he consult me? or do I desire to be previously told of any motions or measures he thinks fit to propose to this House? His Grace seems to be much offended at the manner this bill has been hurried. I am certain he could not be serious, if he gave himself a minute to consider how the case really stands. Here we are told, that America is in state of actual rebellion, and we are now got to the 1st of February, and no one step is taken to crush this supposed rebellion: yet, such being the case, I am charged with hurrying matters; but whether my conduct may be more justly charged with hurrying this business into, or his Grace with hurrying it out of the House, I believe requires no great depth of penetration to discover. As to the other general objections, I presume it will be recollected, that the last day I submitted the proposition about withdrawing the troops, I then gave notice that I would present, in a few days, a plan of general reconciliation. Eleven days have since elapsed, and nothing has been offered by the King's servants. Under such circumstances of emergency on one side, when, perhaps, a single day may determine the fate of this great empire; and such a shameful negligence, total inattention, and want of ability on the other, what was to be done? No other alternative, in my opinion, remained, but either to abandon the interests of my country, and relinquish my duty, or to propose some plan, when Ministry, by their inaction and silence, owned themselves incapable of proposing any. But even now let them speak out, and tell me, that they have a plan to lay before

tis, and I will give them an example of candour they are by no means deserving of, by instantly withdrawing the present Bill. The indecent attempt to stifle this measure in embryo, may promise consequences the very reverse of what I am certain will be the case. The friends of the present motion may flatter themselves, that the contents of the Bill will sink into silence, and be forgotten, but I believe they will find the contrary. This Bill, though rejected here, will make its way to the public, to the nation, to the remotest wilds of America; it will, in such a course undergo a deal of cool observation and investigation; and whatever its merits or demerits may be, it will rise or fall by them alone; it will, I trust, remain a monument of my poor endeavours to serve my country; and however faulty or defective, will at least manifest how zealous I have been to avert the impending storms which seem ready to burst on it, and forever overwhelm it in ruin. Yet, when I consider the whole case as it lies before me, I am not much astonished, I am not surpris'd, that men who hate liberty, should detest those that prize it; or that those who want virtue themselves, should endeavour to prosecute those who possess it. Were I disposed to pursue this theme to the extent that truth would fully bear me out in, I could demonstrate, that the whole of your political conduct, has been one continued series of weakness, temerity, despotism, ignorance, fatuity, negligence, blundering, and the most notorious servility, incapacity, and corruption. On reconsideration, I must allow you one merit, a strict attention to your own interests; in that view you appear sound statesmen, and able politicians. You well know, if the present measure should prevail, that you must instantly relinquish your places. I doubt much whether you will be able to keep them on any terms: but sure I am, that such is your well-known characters and abilities, any plan of reconciliation, however moderate, wise, and feasible, must fail in your hands. Such then being your precarious situations, who should wonder that you can put a negative on any measure which must annihilate your power, deprive you of your emoluments, and at once reduce you to that state of insignificance, for which God and Nature designed you?

The Bill was rejected, and not suffered to lie upon the table.

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Although the Bill met with a fate so unjust in Parliament, it was very differently received by the Public. On the tenth day February, the Corporation of the City of London came to the following resolution.

Receives the
Thanks of the
City of London,
for his Bill.

“ That the thanks of this Court be given to the Right Hon. the Earl of CHATHAM, for having offered to the House of Lords a plan for conciliating the differences which unfortunately subsist between the Administration in this country and its American Colonies; and to all those who supported that noble Lord in so humane a measure.”

The Town Clerk having waited on Lord CHATHAM with the above resolution, his Lordship returned the following answer:

“ Lord CHATHAM desires the favour of Mr. Town Clerk to offer my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council assembled, his most respectful and grateful acknowledgments for the signal honour they have been pleased to confer on the mere discharge of his duty, in a moment of impending calamity.

“ Under deep impressions of former marks of favourable construction of his conduct, during the evil hour of a dangerous foreign war, he now deems himself too fortunate to find his efforts for preventing the ruin and horrors of a civil war, approved, honoured, and strengthened by the first corporate body in the kingdom.”

During

During the remainder of the session, which ended on the 26th of May, 1775, Lord CHATHAM did not attend; nor during the succeeding session, which began on the 26th of Oct. 1775, and ended on the 23d of May, 1776. His health declined so fast, he was not able.

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[illegible]

C H A P. XLIII.

Duke of Grafton resigns—Lord Chatham's Motion and Speeches to discontinue the American War; and repeal all the Acts of Parliament passed since the Year 1763.

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D. of Grafton
resigns.

AT the meeting of Parliament towards the end of October, 1775, the Duke of GRAFTON being convinced of the hostile measures of the Cabinet against America, declared that his conscience forbade him supporting those measures in Parliament, and, therefore, he resigned the Privy Seal; which was thereupon given to Lord DARTMOUTH, and Lord GEORGE GERMAIN succeeded his Lordship as Secretary of State for America.

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On the thirteenth day of May, 1777, Lord CHATHAM attended the House of Lords, again, to make another motion, deprecating hostilities with America. He began—

Lord Chatham's
motion to dis-
continue the
American war.

My Lords, this is a flying moment; perhaps but six weeks left to arrest the dangers that surround us. The gathering storm may break; it has already opened, and in part burst. It is difficult for Government, after all that has passed, to shake hands with defiers of the King, defiers of the Parliament, defiers of the People. I am a defier of nobody; but if an end is not put to this war, there is an end to this country. I do not trust my judgment in my present state of health; this is the judgment of my better days; the result of forty years attention to America. They are rebels; but what are they rebels for? Surely not for defending their unquestionable

able rights! What have these rebels done heretofore? I remember when they raised four regiments on their own bottom, and took Louisburg from the veteran troops of France. But their excesses have been great. I do not mean their panegyric; but must observe in attenuation, the erroneous and insatuated counsels, which have prevailed—the door to mercy and justice has been shut against them. But they may still be taken up upon the grounds of their former submission. [*Referring to their petition.*] I state to you the importance of America; it is a double-market; the market of consumption, and the market of supply. This double-market for millions, with naval stores, you are giving to your hereditary rival. America has carried you through four wars, and will now carry you to your death, if you don't take things in time. In the sportsman's phrase, when you have found yourselves at fault, you must try back. You have ransacked every corner of Lower Saxony; but 40,000 German boors never can conquer ten times the number of British freemen: they may ravage; they cannot conquer. But you would conquer, you say! Why, what would you conquer—the map of America? I am ready to meet any General Officer on the subject. [*Looking at Lord AMHERST.*] What will you do out of the protection of your fleet? In the winter, if together, they are starved; and if dispersed, they are taken off in detail. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises; I know what Ministers throw out; but at last will come your equinoctial disappointment. They tell you—what? That your army will be as strong as last year, when it was not strong enough. You have got nothing in America but stations. You have been three years teaching them the art of war. They are apt scholars, and I will venture to tell your Lordships, that the American gentry will make officers enough, fit to command the troops of all the European powers. What you have sent there, are too many to make peace, too few to make war. If you conquer them, what then? You cannot make them respect you; you cannot make them wear your cloth. You will plant an invincible hatred in their breasts against you. Coming from the flock they do, they can never respect you. If Ministers are founded in saying there is no sort of treaty with France,

France, there is still a moment left; the point of honour is still safe. France must be as self-destroying as England, to make a treaty while you are giving her America at the expence of twelve millions a year. The intercourse has produced every thing to France; and England, old England must pay for all. I have at different times made different propositions, adapted to the circumstances in which they were offered. The plan contained in the former bill, is now impracticable; the present motion will tell you where you are, and what you have now to depend upon. It may produce a respectable division in America, and unanimity at home. It will give America an option; she has yet made no option. You have said, lay down your arms, and she has given you the Spartan answer, "Come, take."

[*Here he read his motion.*]

"THAT an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most dutifully representing to his royal wisdom, that this House is deeply penetrated with the view of impending ruin to the kingdom, from the continuation of an unnatural war against the British Colonies in America; and most humbly to advise his Majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to such fatal hostilities, upon the only just and solid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances; and to assure his Majesty, that this House will enter upon this great and necessary work with cheerfulness and dispatch, in order to open to his Majesty the only means of regaining the affections of the British colonies, and of securing to Great Britain the commercial advantages of these valuable possessions; fully persuaded, that to heal and to redress, will be more congenial to the goodness and magnanimity of his Majesty, and more prevalent over the hearts of generous and free-born subjects, than the rigours of chastisement, and the horrors of a civil war, which hitherto have served only to sharpen resentments and consolidate union, and, if continued, must end in finally dissolving all ties between Great Britain and the Colonies.

Lord CHATHAM afterwards rose to explain what indeed he had before explained to Lord LYTTELTON. The proposal is specific. I thought this so clear, that I did not enlarge upon it. I mean the redress of all their grievances, and the right of disposing of their own money.

money. This is to be done instantaneously. I will get out of my bed to move it on Monday. This will be the herald of peace; this will open the way for treaty; this will shew Parliament sincerely disposed. Yet still much must be left to treaty. Should you conquer this people, you conquer under the cannon of France; under a masked battery then ready to open. The moment a treaty with France appears, you must declare war, though you had only five ships of the line in England; but France will defer a treaty as long as possible. You are now at the mercy of every little German chancery; and the pretensions of France will increase daily, so as to become an avowed party in either peace or war. We have tried for unconditional submission; try what can be gained by unconditional redress. Less dignity will be lost in the repeal, than in submitting to the demands of German chanceries. We are the aggressors. We have invaded them. We have invaded them as much as the Spanish armada invaded England. Mercy cannot do harm; it will seat the King where he ought to be, throned on the hearts of his people; and millions at home and abroad, now employed in obloquy or revolt, would pray for him.

In making his motion for addressing the King, he insisted frequently and strongly on the absolute necessity of immediately making peace with America. Now, he said, was the crisis, before France was a party to the treaty. This was the only moment left, before the fate of this country was decided. The French court, he observed, was too wise to lose the opportunity of effectually separating America from the dominions of this kingdom. That whenever France or Spain entered into a treaty of any sort with America, Great Britain must immediately declare war against them. That he would be among the first to advise it, even if we had but five ships of the line in our ports: and that such a treaty must and would shortly take place, were pacification delayed. War between France and Great Britain, he said, was not less probable because it had not yet been declared: it would be folly in France to declare it now, while America gave full employment to our arms, and was pouring into her lap her wealth and produce, the benefit of which she was enjoying in peace. He repeated, that America was contending with Great Britain under a masked

masked battery of France, which would open on this country as soon as she was fully prepared for war. He enlarged much on the importance of America to this country, which, in peace and in war, he observed, he ever considered as the great source of all our wealth and power. And then added [raising his voice] "Your trade languishes, your taxes increase, your revenues diminish; France, at this moment, is securing and drawing to herself that commerce, which created your seamen, fed your islands, &c." He reprobated the measures which produced, and which have been pursued in the conduct of the civil war, in the severest language; infatuated measures giving rise, and still continuing a cruel, unnatural, self destroying war. Success, it is said, is hoped for in this campaign. Why? Because our army will be as strong this year as it was last, when it was not strong enough. The notion of conquering America he treated with the greatest contempt. What is it you propose to conquer? The map of America? As to the conquest of the country itself, the gaining of ten pitched battles would do nothing towards it. It is the descendants of Britons, inheriting their wisdom, fortitude, and perseverance; it is their country you have invaded. Were it practicable, by a long continued course of success, to conquer it, the holding of it in subjection afterwards would be utterly impossible. No benefit to be derived from that country to this, but by the good-will and pure affection of the inhabitants. This is not to be gained by force of arms. Their affection is only to be regained by reconciliation and justice.

Lord GOWER, and other Lords in Administration, condemned the motion in the severest terms; and some of them affecting not to understand it, Lord CHATHAM rose a second time, and said,

I will, with your Lordship's permission, state shortly what I meant. My Lords, my motion was stated generally, that I might leave the question at large to be amended by your Lordships. I did not dare to point out the specific means. I drew the motion up to the best of my poor abilities; but I intended it only as the herald of conciliation, as the harbinger of peace to our afflicted Colonies. But,

As the noble Lord seems to wish for something more specific on the subject, and through that medium seek my particular sentiments, I will tell your Lordships very fairly what I wish for. I wish for a repeal of every oppressive act which your Lordships have passed since 1763. I would put our brethren in America precisely on the same footing they stood at that period. I would expect, that being left at liberty to tax themselves, and dispose of their own property, they would in return contribute to the common burthens, according to their means and abilities. I will move your Lordships a bill of repeal, as the only means left to arrest that approaching destruction which threatens to overwhelm us. My Lords, I will no doubt hear it objected, Why should we submit or concede? Has America done any thing on her part to induce us to agree to so large a ground of concession? I will tell you, my Lords, why I think you should. You have been the aggressors from the beginning. I shall not trouble your Lordships with the particulars; they have been stated and enforced by the noble and learned Lord, who spoke last but one, in a much more able and distinct manner than I could pretend to state them. If, then, we are the aggressors, it is your Lordships business to make the first overture. I say again, this country has been the aggressor. You have made descents upon their coasts; you have burnt their towns, plundered their country, made war upon the inhabitants, confiscated their property, proscribed and imprisoned their persons. I do therefore affirm, my Lords, that instead of exacting unconditional submission from the Colonies, we should grant them unconditional redress. We have injured them; we have endeavoured to enslave and oppress them. Upon this ground, my Lords, instead of chastisement, they are entitled to redress. A repeal of those laws, of which they complain, will be the first step to that redress. The people of America look upon Parliament as the authors of their miseries; their affections are estranged from their Sovereign. Let, then, reparation come from the hands that inflicted the injuries; let conciliation succeed chastisement; and I do maintain, that Parliament will again recover its authority; that his Majesty will be once more

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more enthroned in the hearts of his American subjects; and that your Lordships, as contributing to so great, glorious, salutary, and benignant a work, will receive the prayers and benedictions of every part of the British empire.

The motion was negatived.

The session ended on the sixth day of June 1777.

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*Lord Chatham's Speech on the Address, and his Amendment—
On the Employment of the Indians in North America—On the
Returns of the Army—On the Capture of General Burgoyne's
Army—His Motion on the Employment of the Indians—His
Speech against a Motion to adjourn.*

PARLIAMENT met on the 18th day of November 1777. The war with America becoming every day more critical, Lord CHATHAM, though he had scarcely strength to move, foreseeing the fatal consequences of it, was exceedingly ardent in his wish to arrest the evil, in any state of its progress. He therefore attended on the first day of the Session. Lord PERCY having moved the Address, Lord CHATHAM rose in a little time after.

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"I rise, my Lords," he said *, "to declare my sentiments on this most solemn and serious subject. It has imposed a load upon my mind, which, I fear, nothing can remove; but which impels me to endeavour its alleviation, by a free and unreserved communication of my sentiments.

Lord Chatham's
Speech on the
Address.

"In the first part of the Address, I have the honour of heartily concurring with the noble Earl who moved it. No man feels sincerer joy than I do; none can offer more genuine congratulation on every

* This speech was taken by the same gentleman who took that of the 20th of January 1775, and has been equally esteemed for its accuracy.

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accession of strength to the Protestant succession: I therefore join in every congratulation on the birth of another princess, and the happy recovery of her Majesty. But I must stop here; my courtly complaisance will carry me no farther: I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace: I cannot concur in a blind and servile address, which approves, and endeavours to sanctify, the monstrous measures that have heaped disgrace and misfortune upon us—that have brought ruin to our doors. This, my Lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment! It is not a time for adulation. The smoothness of flattery cannot now avail—cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the Throne in the language of truth. We must dispel the delusion and the darkness which envelop it; and display, in its full danger and true colours, the ruin that is brought to our doors.

“This, my Lords, is our duty; it is the proper function of this noble assembly, fitting, as we do, upon our honours in this house, the hereditary council of the Crown: And *who* is the minister — *where* is the minister, that has dared to suggest to the Throne the contrary, unconstitutional language, this day delivered from it? The accustomed language from the Throne has been application to Parliament for advice, and a reliance on its constitutional advice and assistance: as it is the right of Parliament to give, so it is the duty of the Crown to ask it. But on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is reposed on our constitutional counsels! no advice is asked from the sober and enlightened care of Parliament! But the Crown, from itself, and by itself, declares an unalterable determination to pursue measures—And what measures, my Lords?—The measures that have produced the imminent perils that threaten us; the measures that have brought ruin to our doors.

“Can the minister of the day now presume to expect a continuance of support, in this ruinous infatuation? Can Parliament be so dead to its dignity and its duty, as to be thus deluded into the loss of the one, and the violation of the other?—To give an unlimited credit and support for the *steady* perseverance in measures; *that* is the word and the conduct—not proposed for our parliamentary advice, but dictated

rated and forced upon us—in measures, I say, my Lords, which have reduced this late flourishing empire to ruin and contempt!—“*But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world: now none so poor to do her reverence.*” I use the words of a poet; but though it be poetry, it is no fiction. It is a shameful truth, that not only the power and strength of this country are wasting away and expiring; but her well-earned glories, her true honour, and substantial dignity, are sacrificed. France, my Lords, has insulted you; she has encouraged and sustained America; and whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to spurn at the officious insult of French interference. The ministers and ambassadors of those who are called rebels and enemies, are in Paris; in Paris they transact the reciprocal interests of America, and France. Can there be a more mortifying insult? Can even our ministers sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint a vindication of their honour, and the dignity of the state, by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America? Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England! The people, whom they affect to call contemptible rebels, but whose growing power has at last obtained the name of enemies; the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and against whom they now command our implicit support in every measure of desperate hostility: this people, despised as rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained, by your inveterate enemy! and our ministers dare not interpose with dignity or effect. Is this the honour of a great kingdom? Is this the indignant spirit of England, who, “*but yesterday,*” gave law to the House of Bourbon? My Lords, the dignity of nations demands a decisive conduct in a situation like this. Even when the greatest prince that perhaps this country ever saw, filled our throne, the requisition of a Spanish general, on a similar subject, was attended to, and complied with; for, on the spirited remonstrance of the Duke of Alva, Elizabeth found herself obliged to deny the Flemish exiles all countenance, support, or even entrance into her dominions; and the Count
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le Marque, with his few desperate followers, was expelled the kingdom. Happening to arrive at the Brille, and finding it weak in defence, they made themselves masters of the place: and this was the foundation of the United Provinces.

“ My Lords, this ruinous and ignominious situation, where we cannot act with success, nor suffer with honour, calls upon us to remonstrate in the strongest and loudest language of truth, to rescue the ear of Majesty from the delusions which surround it. The desperate state of our arms abroad is in part known: no man thinks more highly of them than I do: I love and honour the English troops: I know their virtues and their valour: I know they can achieve any thing except impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America is *an impossibility*. You cannot, I venture to say it, *YOU CANNOT* conquer America. Your armies last war effected every thing that could be effected; and what was it? It cost a numerous army, under the command of a most able general *, now a noble lord in this house, a long and laborious campaign, to expel five thousand Frenchmen from French America. My Lords, *you cannot conquer America*. What is your present situation there? We do not know the worst; but we know, that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. Besides the sufferings, perhaps *total loss*, of the Northern force †, the best appointed army that ever took the field, commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines; *he was obliged* to relinquish his attempt, and with great delay and danger, to adopt a new and distant plan of operations. We shall soon know, and in any event have reason to lament, what may have happened since. As to conquest, therefore, my Lords, I repeat, it is impossible.— You may swell every expence, and every effort, still more extrava-

* Sir Jeffery (now Lord) Amherst.

† General Burgoyne's army. The history of it is short—Most of its bravest officers fell; and about half its numbers: the REST surrendered to the enemy on the 17th of October 1777. See the Gazettes.—The account of this *total loss*, as the noble speaker's prescience expressed it on the 18th of November, arrived in England in the beginning of December.

gantly;

gantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince, that sells his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince; your efforts are for ever vain and impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies—to over-run them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never.

“Your own army is infected with with the contagion of these illiberal allies. The spirit of plunder and of rapine is gone forth among them. I know it—and notwithstanding what the noble Earl*, who moved the address, has given as his opinion of our American army, I know from authentic information, and the *most experienced officers*, that our discipline is deeply wounded. Whilst this is notoriously our sinking situation, America grows and flourishes: whilst our strength and discipline is lowered, theirs rises and improves.

“But, my Lords, who is the man, that in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage? To call into civilized alliance, the wild and inhuman savage of the woods; to delegate to the merciless Indian, the defence of disputed rights; and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My Lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment; unless thoroughly done away, it will be a stain on the national character—it is a violation of the Constitution—I believe it is against law. It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength and character of our army are thus impaired; infected with the mercenary spirit of robbery and rapine—familiarized to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier; no longer sympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious

* Lord PERCY.

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war, "that make ambition virtue!" What makes ambition virtue?—the sense of honour. But is the sense of honour consistent with a spirit of plunder, or the practice of murder? Can it flow from mercenary motives, or can it prompt to cruel deeds? Besides these murderers and plunderers, let me ask our Ministers, what other allies have they acquired? What *other powers* have they associated to their cause? Have they entered into alliance with the *king of the gypsies*? Nothing, my Lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be consistent with their counsels.

"The independent views of America have been stated and asserted as the foundation of this address. My Lords, no man wishes more for the due dependance of America on this country more than I do. To preserve it, and not to confirm that state of independance into which *your measures* hitherto have *driven* them, is the object which we ought to unite in attaining. The Americans, contending for their rights against the arbitrary exactions, I love and admire; it is the struggle of free and virtuous patriots: but contending for independency and total disconnection from England, as an Englishman, I cannot wish them success; for, in a due constitutional dependency, including the ancient supremacy of this country in regulating their commerce and navigation, consists the mutual happiness and prosperity both of England and America. She derived assistance and protection from us; and we reaped from her the most important advantages:—She was, indeed, the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our naval power. It is our duty, therefore, my Lords, if we wish to save our country, most seriously to endeavour the recovery of these most beneficial subjects: and in this perilous crisis, perhaps the present moment may be the only one in which we can hope for success; for their negotiations with France, they have or think they have, reason to complain: though it be notorious that they have received from that power, important supplies and assistance of various kinds, yet it is certain they expected it in a more decisive and immediate degree. America is in ill humour with France, on some points that have not entirely answered her expectations: let us wisely take advantage of every possible moment of reconciliation.

conciliation. Besides, the natural disposition of America herself still leans towards England; to the old habits of connection and mutual interest that united both countries. This *was* the established sentiment of all the Continent; and still, my Lords, in the great and principal part, the sound part of America, this wise and affectionate disposition prevails; and there is a very considerable part of America yet sound—the middle and the southern provinces; some parts may be factious and blind to their true interests; but if we express a wise and benevolent disposition to communicate with them those immutable rights of nature, and those Constitutional liberties, to which they are equally entitled with ourselves; by a conduct so just and humane, we shall confirm the favourable, and conciliate the adverse. I say, my Lords, the rights and liberties to which they are equally entitled with ourselves, but no more. I would participate to them every enjoyment and freedom which the colonizing subjects of a free state can possess, or wish to possess; and I do not see why they should not enjoy every fundamental right in their property, and every original substantial liberty, which Devonshire or Surry, or the county I live in, or any other county in England, can claim; reserving always, as the sacred right of the mother country, the due constitutional dependency of the Colonies. The inherent supremacy of the state in regulating and protecting the navigation and commerce of all her subjects, is necessary for the mutual benefit and preservation of every part, to constitute and preserve the prosperous arrangement of the whole empire.

“The sound parts of America, of which I have spoken, must be sensible of these great truths, and of their real interests. America is not in that state of desperate and contemptible rebellion, which this country has been deluded to believe. It is not a wild and lawless banditti, who, having nothing to lose, might hope to snatch something from public convulsions; many of their leaders and great men have a great stake in this great contest:—the gentleman who conducts their armies, I am told, has an estate of four or five thousand pounds a year: and when I consider these things, I cannot but lament the inconsiderate violence of our penal acts, our declarations of treason and rebellion, with all the fatal effects of attainder and confiscation.

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"As to the disposition of foreign powers, which is asserted to be pacific* and friendly, let us judge, my Lords, rather by their actions and the nature of things, than by interested assertions. The uniform assistance, supplied to America by France, suggests a different conclusion:—The most important interests of France, in aggrandizing and enriching herself with what she most wants, supplies of every naval store from America, must inspire her with different sentiments. The extraordinary preparations of the House of Bourbon, by land and by sea, from Dunkirk to the Streights, equally ready and willing to overwhelm these defenceless islands, should rouse us to a sense of their real disposition, and our own danger. Not five thousand troops in England!—hardly three thousand in Ireland! What can we oppose to the combined force of our enemies?—Scarcely twenty ships of the line fully or sufficiently manned, that any Admiral's reputation would permit him to take the command of†.—The river of Lisbon in the possession of our enemies!—The seas swept by American privateers:—Our channel torn to pieces by them! In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness at home, and calamity abroad, terrified and insulted by the neighbouring powers,—unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed;—where is the man with the forehead

* In the King's Speech.

† In reply to the noble speaker's assertion, relative to the number of ships, &c. the first Lord of the Admiralty rose in his place; and gave their Lordships official assurance, "that thirty-five ships of the line were then (Nov. 18th 1777) completely ready; that seven more would be ready in a few weeks; "in all *forty-two*: and that an Admiral of the most acknowledged merit (he then said) and of the highest reputation, Admiral KEPPEL, was ready to "take the command."—In March 1778, Admiral KEPPEL went to Portsmouth to take the command. He found "but *six ships* ready," and those in ill condition.—See *Defence of Admiral Keppel*.—"On the 30th of June, twenty "ships of the line were ready, with which Admiral KEPPEL sailed. Thirty- "two ships of the line then lay in Brest-water, besides an incredible number of "frigates.—*Ibid.*—The English fleet were forced to return, from this vast superiority of the fleet of France.—"A first Lord of the Admiralty, if he "does not take care always to have a fleet superior to both France and Spain, "*deserves to lose his head.*"—Lord SANDWICH.

to promise or hope for success in such a situation? or, from perseverance in the measures that have driven us to it? Who has the forehead to do so? Where is that man? I should be glad to see his face.

“ You cannot *conciliate* America by your present measures—you cannot *subdue* her by your present, or by any measures. What then can you do? You cannot conquer, you cannot gain, but you can *address*; you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into an ignorance of the danger that should produce them. But, my Lords, the time demands the language of truth:—we must not now apply the flattering unction of servile compliance, or blind complaisance. In a just and necessary war, to maintain the rights or honour of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it. But in such a war as this, unjust in its principle, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in its consequences, I would not contribute a single effort, nor a single shilling. I do not call for vengeance on the heads of those who have been guilty; I only recommend to them to make their retreat; let them walk off; and let them make haste, or they may be assured that speedy and condign punishment will overtake them.

“ My Lords, I have submitted to you, with the freedom and truth which I think my duty, my sentiments on your present awful situation. I have laid before you the ruin of your power, the disgrace of your reputation, the pollution of your discipline, the contamination of your morals, the complication of calamities, foreign and domestic, that overwhelm your sinking country. Your dearest interests, your own liberties, the Constitution itself, totters to the foundation. All this disgraceful danger, this multitude of misery, is the monstrous offspring of this unnatural war. We have been deceived and deluded too long: but let us now stop short: this is the crisis—may be the only * crisis, of time and situation, to give us a possibility of escape

* It cannot have escaped observation, with what urgent anxiety the noble speaker has pressed this point throughout his speech; the critical necessity of *instantly* treating with America. But the warning voice was heard in vain: the *Address* triumphed: Parliament adjourned: Ministers enjoyed the festive recess of a long Christmas:—And America *ratified* her alliance with France.

from the fatal effects of our delusions. But if in an obstinate and infatuated perseverance in folly, we meanly echo back the peremptory words this day presented to us, nothing can save this devoted country from complete and final ruin. We madly rush into multiplied miseries and "confusion worse confounded."

"Is it possible, can it be believed, that Ministers are yet blind to this impending destruction?—I did hope, that instead of this false and empty vanity, this over-weening pride, engendering high conceits, and presumptuous imaginations,—that Ministers would have humbled themselves in their errors, would have confessed and retracted them, and by an active, though a late repentance, have endeavoured to redeem them. But, my Lords, since they had neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice nor humanity to shun, these oppressive calamities; since, not even severe experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their stupefaction, the guardian care of Parliament must interpose. I shall, therefore, my Lords, propose to you an amendment to the address to his Majesty, to be inserted immediately after the two first paragraphs of congratulation on the birth of a Princess: to recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries.—This my Lords, is yet in our power; and let not the wisdom and justice of your Lordships neglect the happy, and, perhaps the only opportunity. By the establishment of irrecoverable laws, founded on mutual rights, and ascertained by treaty, these glorious enjoyments may be firmly perpetuated. And let me repeat to your Lordships, that the strong bias of America, at least of the wise and sounder parts of it, naturally inclines to this happy and Constitutional reconnection with you. Notwithstanding the temporary intrigues with France, we may still be assured of their ancient and confirmed partiality to us. America and France cannot be congenial; there is something decisive and confirmed in the honest American, that will not assimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen.

"My

" My Lords, to encourage and confirm that innate inclination to this country, founded on every principle of affection, as well consideration of interest—to restore that favourable disposition into a permanent and powerful re-union with this country—to revive the mutual strength of the empire;—again, to awe the House of Bourbon, instead of meanly truckling, as our present calamities compel us, to every insult of French caprice, and Spanish punctilio—to re-establish our commerce—to re-assert our rights and our honour—to confirm our interests, and renew our glories for ever (a consummation most devoutly to be endeavoured! and which, I trust, may yet arise from reconciliation with America)—I have the honour of submitting to you the following amendment; which I move to be inserted after the two first paragraphs of the address:"

" And that this House does most humbly advise and supplicate his Majesty, to be pleased to cause the most speedy and effectual measures to be taken, for restoring peace in America; and that no time may be lost in proposing an immediate cessation of hostilities there, in order to the opening a treaty for the final settlement of the tranquillity of these invaluable provinces, by a removal of the unhappy causes of this ruinous civil war; and by a just and adequate security against the return of the like calamities in times to come. And this House desire to offer the most dutiful assurances to his Majesty, that they will, in due time, cheerfully co-operate with the magnanimity and tender goodness of his Majesty, for the preservation of his people, by such explicit and most solemn declarations, and provisions of fundamental and irrevocable laws, as may be judged necessary for the ascertaining and fixing for ever the respective rights of Great Britain and her Colonies."

His amendment

The amendment was negatived.

In the course of the debate, Lord SUFFOLK, Secretary of State for the Northern department, undertook to defend the employment of the Indians in the war. His Lordship contended, that, besides its *policy* and *necessity*, the measure was also allowable on *principle*; for that

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that "it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that *God and Nature put into our hands.*"

"I AM ASTONISHED!" (exclaimed Lord CHATHAM, as he rose) shocked! to hear such principles confessed—to hear them avowed in this house, or in this country: principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian!

"My Lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention: but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself impelled by every duty. My Lords, we are called upon as members of this house, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such notions standing near the throne, polluting the ear of Majesty. "That God and nature put into our hands." I know not what ideas that Lord, may entertain of God and nature; but I know, that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity.—What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping knife—to the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating; literally, my Lords, *eating* the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine or natural, and every generous feeling of humanity. And, my Lords, they shock every sentiment of honour; they shock me as a lover of honourable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity.

"These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that *Right Reverend* Bench, those holy ministers of the gospel, and pious pastors of our church; I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God: I appeal to the wisdom and the law of *this learned* Bench, to defend and support the justice of their country: I call upon the Bishops, to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn;—upon the learned Judges, to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution: I call upon the honour of your Lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own: I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character: I invoke the genius of the constitution.

constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble Lord * frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country. In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted Armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the honour, the liberties, the religion, the *Protestant religion* of this country, against the arbitrary cruelties of Popery and the Inquisition, if these more than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are let loose among us; to turn forth into our settlements, among our ancient connections, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child! to send forth the infidel savage—against whom? against your Protestant brethren; to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name, with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war! — *hell-hounds, I say, of savage war.* Spain armed herself with blood-hounds, to extirpate the wretched natives of America; and we improve on the inhuman example even of Spanish cruelty; we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion; endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity.

“ My Lords, this awful subject, so important to our honour, our constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual enquiry. And I again call upon your Lordships, and the united powers of the state, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. And I again implore those holy prelates of our religion, to do away these iniquities from among us. Let them perform a lustration; let them purify this house, and this country, from this sin.

“ My Lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head on my

This speech had no effect. The Address was agreed to.

* Lord EFFINGHAM.—Lord EFFINGHAM HOWARD was Lord High Admiral of England against the Spanish armada; the destruction of which is represented in the tapestry.

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pillow,

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On the returns
of the army.

pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles."

On the 2d day of December 1777, the Duke of RICHMOND moved for the returns of the army and navy in Ireland and America. Upon this occasion, Lord CHATHAM said,

"I most cheerfully testify my approbation of the motions now made by the noble Duke; and am firmly persuaded, that they have originated in the most exalted motives; nor am I less pleased with the very candid reception they have met with from your Lordships. I think they will draw forth a great mass of useful information; but as to those respecting the state of our military strength, there appears something yet wanting to render them complete. Nothing has been offered which may lead to inform us of the actual state of the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, those two very important fortresses, which have hitherto enabled us to maintain our superiority in the Mediterranean, and one of them (Gibraltar) situated on the very continent of Spain, the best proof of our naval power, and the only solid check on that of the House of Bourbon; yet those two important fortresses are left to chance, and the pacific dispositions of France and Spain, as the only protection; we hold them but by sufferance. I know them to be in a defenceless state. None of your Lordships are ignorant that we lost Mahon at the commencement of the last war. It was indeed a fatal disaster, as it exposed the trade and commerce of the Mediterranean to the ravages of our inveterate and then powerful enemies. My Lords, such was the light the acquisition of that fortress was looked upon when it was first taken, that the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, who was no great penman, but who employed a secretary to draw up his dispatches, in answer to the letter from the able general and consummate statesman who conquered it (the father of my noble relation now in my eye, Earl STANHOPE) trusted the dispatch to the secretary, but added a postscript in his own hand-writing, where he recommended particularly to the victorious general, to by no means neglect putting that fortress in the best possible state of defence, and to garrison it with natives, and not foreigners. When I had the honour, soon after it fell into the hands of the French, to be called into the councils of the late King, I never lost sight of that circumstance.

Gibraltar

Gibraltar still remained in our hands; and the war in Germany, which Parliament thought fit to engage in, and bind themselves to, before I came into office; though we were carrying on the most extensive operations in America; though the coast of Africa, and the West India islands, required a suitable force to protect them; and though these kingdoms called for a proportionate army, not only to act defensively, but offensively on the coasts of our enemies; notwithstanding all those pressing services, my Lords, having the counsel of that great man constantly in view, it determined me, that whatever demands, or how much soever such troops might be wanting elsewhere, that Gibraltar should never want a full and adequate defence. I never had, my Lords, less than eight battallions to defend it. I think a battalion was then about eight hundred strong. So that, my Lords, I affirm, that Gibraltar was never trusted to a garrison of less than six thousand men. My Lords, this force was, as it were, locked up in that fortress during the whole of the late war; nor could any appearance of the most urgent necessity induce me to weaken it. My Lords, I know that the very weak and defenceless state of these islands does not seem to admit of any troops being spared from the home defence; but, my Lords, give me leave to say, that whatever reluctance or disgust there may have appeared in several veteran and able Generals to the service, where the tomahawk and scalping-knife were to be the warlike instruments employed as the engines of destruction, I am convinced there are many, some of whom I have in my eye [supposed to mean Lords Townshend and Amherst] who would, with ardour and alacrity, accept of any command, where the true honour, interest, and safety of their country were concerned. My Lords, the moment is arrived when this spirit should be exerted. Gibraltar is garrisoned by Hanoverians. I am told, if any accident should happen to the present commanding officer there, that the care of the fortress, and the command of the troops, would devolve on a foreigner. I do not recollect his name, but this is my information; and if I do not hear it contradicted, I must take it for granted. I am well authorised to say, my Lords, that such is the present defenceless state of Gibraltar, that there is not a second relief in case of an

tack; not men sufficient to man the works, while those fatigued with service and watching, go to refresh, eat, or sleep; though Germany and the wilds of America have been ransacked for the purpose.

My Lords, we should not want men in a good cause; and nothing ought to be left untried to procure them. I remember, soon after the period I shall take the liberty to remind your Lordships of, after an unnatural rebellion had been extinguished in the northern part of this island, men not fighting for liberty, or the constitution of their country, but professedly to annihilate both, as advocates for popery, slavery, and arbitrary power; not like our brethren in America, Whigs in principle, and heroes in conduct: I remember, I say, my Lords, that I employed these very rebels in the service and defence of their country. They were reclaimed by this means; they fought our battles; they cheerfully bled in defence of those liberties which they attempted to overthrow but a few years before. What, then, does your Lordships imagine would be the effect of a similar conduct towards the Whigs and freemen of America, whom you call rebels? Would it not, think you, operate in like manner? They would fight your battles; they would cheerfully bleed for you; they would render you superior to all your foreign enemies; they would bear your arms triumphant to every quarter of the globe. You have, I fear, lost the affection, the good-will of this people, by employing mercenary Germans to butcher them; by spiring up the savages of America to scalp them with the tomahawk. My Lords, I would have you consider, should this war be pushed to extremities, the possible consequences. It is no farther from America to England than from England to America. If conquest is to be the issue, we must trust to that issue, and fairly abide by it.

The noble Earl at the head of the Admiralty, the last night I had the honour to address your Lordships, contradicted me when I asserted we had not above twenty ships of the line fit to proceed to sea (on actual service) at a short warning. I again repeat the assertion, though I gave it up at that time, on account of the plausibility and confidence with which the fact was asserted. I now say, there are not above twenty ships of the line, on which any naval officer of eminence and skill

skill in his profession would stake his credit. The noble Earl in office said, there were thirty-five ships of the line fit for sea; but acknowledged, that there was a deficiency of near three thousand of the complements necessary to proceed upon actual service. How did the noble Earl propose to fill up that deficiency? — By supernumeraries, by transfers, by recruits, &c. Will the noble Earl say, that twenty-one thousand is a full war complement for thirty-five ships of the line? or will he undertake to assure this House (even allowing for those odds and ends) that the ships will be properly manned by the numbers now actually on board? But if every particular fact, stated by the noble Earl, be precisely as he would persuade your Lordships to believe; will his Lordship pretend to affirm, that thirty-five ships of the line, or even forty-two (the highest that his Lordship ventured to go) would, in case of a rupture with the House of Bourbon, be sufficient for all the purposes of offence, defence, and protection? I am sure his Lordship will not. A fleet in the Channel; one in the Western sea; another in the West Indies; and one in the Mediterranean; besides convoys and cruizers, to protect our commerce and annoy our enemies. I say, my Lords, that thirty-five ships of the line would be necessary for the protection of our trade and fortresses in the Mediterranean alone. We must be equal to the combined force of France and Spain in that sea, or we need not send a single ship there. Ships must be stationed to command respect from the powers on the coast of Barbary, and to prevent their piracies on our merchant vessels. We must have a superior fleet in the Western sea likewise; and we must have one in the Channel equal to the defence of our own coast.

These were the ideas which prevailed, when I had the honour of assisting in the British councils, and at all other preceding periods of naval hostility since the Revolution. My Lords, if Lord Anson was capable of the high office the noble Earl now presides in, the noble Earl is certainly mistaken in saying, that thirty-five or fifty-five ships of the line are equal to the several services now enumerated. That great naval commander gave in a list, at one time, of eighty-four thousand seamen actually on the books. It is well worthy your Lordship's inquiry, to know what are the present number. The motion

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of General Bur-
goyne's army.

made by the noble Duke leads to that inquiry, and meets my warmest approbation; but that we may have every necessary information, I recommend to my noble friend to amend his motion by extending it to Gibraltar and Mahon. I do not wish to have any thing disclosed at present, which may tend to expose the weak state of those fortresses; but I think it is incumbent upon your Lordships to learn their strength, in point of numbers of men; and to know how the fact stands, relative to the possibility of the command of Gibraltar devolving on a foreigner, in case any accident happening to the officer who now commands there.

The motion was agreed to.

On the fifth day of December, in consequence of intelligence having arrived of the capture of General BURGoyNE's army, Lord CHATHAM went to the House of Lords, to make a motion upon that subject, which he introduced with remarking, that the King's speech at the opening of the session, conveyed a general information of the measures intended to be pursued; and looked forward to the probable occurrences which might be supposed to happen, and affect the great bodies to whom they were addressed: and, of course, the nation at large, who were finally interested. He had the last speech from the throne now in his hand, and a deep sense of the public calamity in his heart. They would both co-operate to enforce and justify the measure he meant to propose. He was sorry to say, the speech contained a very unfaithful picture of the state of public affairs. This assertion was unquestionable; not a noble Lord in Administration would dare rise, and even so much as controvert the fact. The speech held out a specious outside—was full of hopes; yet it was manifest, that every thing within and without foreign and domestic, was full of danger, and calculated to inspire the most melancholy forebodings. His Lordship hoped, that this sudden call for their Lordship's attention, would be imputed to its true motive, a desire of obtaining their assistance in such a season of difficulty and danger; a season in which, he would be bold to maintain, a single moment was not to be lost. It was customary, he said, for that House to offer an address of condolance to his Majesty
upon

upon any public misfortune, as well as one of congratulation, on any public success. If this was the usage of Parliament, he never recollected a period, at which, such an address became more seasonable or necessary than at present. If what was acknowledged in the other House was true, he was astonished, that some public notice was not taken of the sad, the melancholy disaster.---The report was, the fact was acknowledged by persons in high authority, [Lords GERMAIN and NORTH] that General BURGOYNE and his army were surrounded, and obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the Provincials. He should take the account of this calamitous event, as now stated, and argue upon it as a matter universally allowed to be true. He then lamented the fate of Mr. BURGOYNE in the most pathetic terms; and said, that gentleman's character, the glory of the British arms, and the dearest interests of this undone, disgraced country had been all sacrificed to the ignorance, temerity, and incapacity of Ministers. Appearances, he observed, were indeed dreadful; he was not sufficiently informed to decide on the extent of the numerous evils with which we were surrounded; but they were clearly sufficient to give just cause of alarm to the most confident or callous heart. He spoke with great candour of General BURGOYNE: he might, or might not, be an able officer; but by every thing he could learn, his fate was not proportioned to his merit: he might have received orders it was not in his power to execute. Neither should he condemn Ministers; they might have instructed him wisely; he might have executed his instructions faithfully and judiciously, and yet he might have miscarried. There are many events which the greatest human foresight can not provide against; it was on that ground, therefore, he meant to frame his motion. The fact was acknowledged; the General had miscarried. It might not have been his fault; it might not be that of his employers or instructors. To know where the fault lay, he was desirous of having laid before the House. So much of the plan at home, had, however, transpired, as justified him in affirming that the measures were founded in weakness, barbarity, and inhumanity. Savages had been employed to carry ruin and devastation among our subjects in America. The tomahawk and scalping-knife were put into

into the hands of the most brutal and ferocious of the human species. Was this honourable war? Was it the means which God and Nature [alluding to what had fallen from Lord Suffolk on the opening of the session] put into the hands of Englishmen, to assert their rights over our colonies, and to procure their obedience, and conciliate their affection?—His Lordship spoke in the most pointed terms of the system introduced within the last fifteen years at St. James's: of breaking all connection, of extinguishing all principle. A few men had got an ascendancy, where no man should have a personal ascendancy, by the executive powers of the State being at their command; they had been furnished with the means of creating divisions. This brought pliable men, not capable men into the highest and most responsible situations; and to such men was the government of this once glorious empire now intrusted. The spirit of delusion had gone forth; the Ministers had imposed on the people; Parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition; false lights had been held out to the country gentlemen: they had been seduced into the support of a most destructive war, under the impression, that the Land Tax would be diminished, by the means of an American revenue. The visionary phantom, thus conjured up for the basest of all purposes, that of deception was now about to vanish. He condemned the contents of the speech in the bitterest terms of reproach. He said it abounded with absurdity and contradiction. In one part it recommended vigorous measures, pointing to conquest, or unconditional submission; while in another, it pretended to say, that peace was the real object, as soon as the deluded multitude should return to their allegiance. This, his Lordship contended, was the grossest and most insolent delusion. It was by this strange mixture of firmness, and pretended candour, of cruelty and mercy, justice and iniquity, that this infatuated nation had been all along misled.

His Lordship returned to the situation of General Burgoyne, and paid him, indeed, very high compliments. He said, his abilities were confessed; his personal bravery not surpassed; his zeal in the service unquestionable. He experienced no pestilence, nor suffered any of the accidents which sometimes supersede the most wise and spirited exertions

exertions of human industry. What then, says his Lordship, is the great cause of his misfortune? Want of wisdom in our Council, want of ability in our Ministers. His Lordship laid the whole blame on Ministers: it was their duty to shield that ill-treated officer from the temporary obloquy he must suffer under, till he had an opportunity to justify himself in person. His motion bore no personal relation to the conduct of that able, but abused officer; it was meant to be solely pointed to draw forth those instructions, which were the cause of defeat and captivity. General BURGOYNE was subject to the events of war; so was every other man who bore a command in time of war; for his part, when he was in office, he never attempted to cover his own incapacity, by throwing the blame on others; on the contrary, he gave them every support and becoming countenance in his power.

His Lordship condemned the next plan of operations, which he insisted were sent from hence; that of penetrating into the colonies from Canada. It was a most wild, uncombined, and mad project; it was full of difficulty; and though success had declared in our favour, would have been a wanton waste of blood and treasure. He next animadverted on the mode of carrying on the war, which, he said, was the most bloody, barbarous, and ferocious, recorded in the annals of mankind. He contrasted the fame and renown we gained the last war with the defeats and disgraces of the present; then, he said, we arrived at the highest pinnacle of glory; now we had sullied and tarnished the arms of Britain for ever, by employing savages in our service, by drawing them up in a British line, and mixing the scalping-knife and tomahawk with the sword and firelock. The horror he felt was so great, that had it fallen to his lot to serve in an army where such cruelty was permitted, he believed in his conscience he would sooner mutiny than consent to serve with such barbarians. Such a mode of warfare was, in his opinion, a contamination, a pollution of our national character, a stigma which all the water of the rivers Delaware and Hudson would never wash away; it would rankle in the breast of America, and sink so deep into it, that he was almost certain they would never forget nor forgive the horrid injury.

His

His Lordship observed, that similar instructions relative to the Indians had been imputed to him. He disclaimed the least recollection of having given any such instructions; and in order to ascertain the matter, so as to remove any ground of future altercation on the subject, he called upon Administration to produce the orders, if any such had been given.

We had, he said, swept every corner of Germany for men: we had searched the darkest wilds of America for the scalping-knife. But those bloody measures being as weak as they were wicked, he recommended that instant orders might be sent to call home the first, and disband the others—indeed, to withdraw our troops entirely; for peace, he was certain, would never be effected, as long as the German bayonet and Indian scalping-knife were threatened to be buried in the bowels of our American brethren. Such an expectation was absurd, mad, and foolish. The Colonies must consider us as friends, before they will ever consent to treat with us: a formal acknowledgment of our errors, and a renunciation of our unjust, ill-founded, and oppressive claims, must precede every the least attempt to conciliate. He declared himself an avowed enemy to American independency. He was a Whig; and though he utterly, from his heart, abhorred the system of government endeavoured to be carried into execution in America, he as earnestly and zealously contended for a Whig government, and a Whig connection between both countries, founded in a constitutional dependence and subordination.

His Lordship recurred to the melancholy momentous situation of public affairs in general. He said, America was lost, even by the accounts Administration in the Gazette had thought proper to impart. General WASHINGTON proved himself three times an abler general than Sir WILLIAM HOWE; for, with a force much inferior in number, and infinitely inferior in every other respect, as asserted from an authority not to be questioned [Lord GERMAINE] he had been able to baffle every attempt of ours, and left us in such a situation, that if not assisted by our fleet, our troops in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia must probably share the same unhappy fate with those under General BURGOYNE. He condemned the motives of the war in the
most

most pointed and energetic expressions, and the conduct of it in still stronger; and compared the situation of this country to that brought on his dominions by the Duke of BURGUNDY, surnamed the Bold.—A Prince of the House of Savoy had his property seized by him; the injured Prince would not submit; war was determined on; and the object strongly resembled the paltry pretence on which we had armed, and had carried fire, sword, and devastation, through every corner of America. The seizure was about a cargo of skins; he would have them, but the Prince of Saumur would not submit. The Duke was conjured not to go to war; but he persisted: “he was determined steadily to pursue the same measures:” he marched against “the deluded multitude:” but at last gave one instance of his magnanimity, by imputing his misfortunes to his own obstinacy; “because,” said he, “this was owing to my not submitting to be well advised.” The case of the Duke of BURGUNDY was applicable to England. Ministers had undertaken a rash enterprize, without wisdom to plan, or ability to execute. What had occasioned the rise, in the value of estates? America, which he now feared was for ever lost. She had been the great support of this country; she had produced millions; she afforded soldiers and sailors; she had given our manufacturers employment, and enriched our merchants. The gentlemen of landed property would probably feel this; for, when commerce fails, when new burdens are incurred, when the means by which those burdens were lightened are no more, the land-owner will feel the double pressure of heavy taxes: he will find them doubled in the first instance, and his rents proportionably decreased. But what had we sacrificed all those advantages for? In pursuit of a pepper-corn!—And how did we treat America? Petitions rejected—complaints unanswered—dutiful representations treated with contempt—an attempt to establish despotism on the ruins of constitutional liberty—measures to enforce taxation by the point of the sword. Ministers had insidiously betrayed us into a war; and what were the fruits of it? Let the sad catastrophe which had befallen Mr. BURGOYNE speak the success.

In the course of his speech, he adverted to the language held in print, and in that house, by a most reverend Prelate, the Tory doc-

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time which it contained; and, he trusted, he should yet see the day, when those pernicious doctrines would be deemed libellous, and treated as such. They were the doctrines of ATTERBURY and SACHEVERELL. As a Whig, he should never endure them; and doubted not, the author or authors would suffer that degree of censure and punishment they were justly entitled to.

After recommending measures of peace, instead of measures of blood, and promising to co-operate in every measure that might promise to put a stop to the effusion of the one, and to promote the other, which might still prove the means of once more uniting our Colonies to us, his Lordship moved, "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly beseeching his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to order the proper officers to lay before this House copies of all orders and instructions to Lieutenant General BURGOYNE, relative to that part of his Majesty's forces in America under his command."

His motion on
the employment
of the Indians.

The motion was negatived. After which, Lord CHATHAM moved, "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly beseeching his Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to order the proper officers to lay before this House all orders and treaties relative to the employment of the Indian savages acting in conjunction with the British troops against the inhabitants of the British Colonies in North America, with a copy of the instructions given by General BURGOYNE to Colonel St. LEGER."

Lord GOWER having opposed this motion with vehemence and acrimony, Lord CHATHAM rose, and reproached the noble Lord with petulance and malignant misrepresentation. He denied that Indians had ever been employed by him; they might have crept into the service, from the utility which the officers found in them when they were engaged in some particular enterprizes in unexplored places; but they were never employed by the late King (GEORGE II.) who, he said, had too much regard for the military dignity of his people, and also too much humanity, to agree to such a proposal, had it ever been made to him. And he called upon Lord AMHERST to declare the truth.

Lord

Lord AMHERST reluctantly owned, that Indians had been employed on both sides; the French employed them first, he said, and we followed their example.

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On the 11th day of December 1777, a motion was made to adjourn to the 20th of January 1778. This long adjournment was opposed by Lord CHATHAM. He said,

It is not with less grief than astonishment I hear the motion now made by the noble Earl, at a time when the affairs of this country present, on every side, prospects full of awe, terror, and impending danger; when, I will be bold to say, events, of a most alarming tendency, little expected or foreseen, will shortly happen; when a cloud, that may crush this nation, and bury it in destruction for ever, is ready to burst and overwhelm us in ruin. At so tremendous a season, it does not become your Lordships, the great hereditary council of the nation, to neglect your duty; to retire to your country seats for six weeks, in quest of joy and merriment, while the real state of public affairs call for grief, mourning, and lamentation, at least, for the fullest exertions of your wisdom. It is your duty, my Lords, as the grand hereditary council of the nation, to advise your Sovereign—to be the protectors of your country—to feel your own weight and authority. As hereditary counsellors, as members of this house, you stand between the crown and the people; you are nearer the throne than the other branch of the legislature, it is your duty to surround and protect, to counsel and supplicate it; you hold the balance, your duty is to see that the weights are properly poised, that the balance remains even, that neither may encroach on the other; and that the executive power may be prevented, by an unconstitutional exertion of even constitutional authority, from bringing the nation to destruction. My Lords, I fear we are arrived at the very brink of that state; and I am persuaded, that nothing short of a spirited interposition on your part, in giving speedy and wholesome advice to your Sovereign, can prevent the people from feeling beyond remedy the full effects of that ruin which Ministers have brought upon us. These are the calamitous circumstances Ministers have been the cause of, and shall we, in such a state of things, when every moment teems with events produc-

His speech
against the mo-
tion to adjourn.

tive of the most fatal narratives — shall we trust, during an adjournment of six weeks, to those men who have brought those calamities upon us, when, perhaps, our utter overthrow is plotting, nay, ripe for execution, without almost a possibility of prevention? Ten thousand brave men have fallen victims to ignorance and rashness. The only army you have in America may, by this time, be no more. This very nation remains no longer safe than its enemies think proper to permit. I do not augur ill. Events of a most critical nature may take place before our next meeting. Will your Lordships, then, in such a state of things, trust to the guidance of men, who, in every single step of this cruel, this wicked war, from the very beginning, have proved themselves weak, ignorant, and mistaken? I will not say, my Lords, nor do I mean any thing personal, or that they have brought premeditated ruin on this country. I will not suppose that they foresaw what has since happened; but I do contend, my Lords, that their guilt (I will not suppose it guilt), but their want of wisdom, their incapacity, their temerity in depending on their own judgment, or their base compliances with the orders and dictates of others, perhaps caused by the influence of one or two individuals, have rendered them totally unworthy of your Lordships confidence, of the confidence of Parliament, and those whose rights they are the constitutional guardians of, the people at large. A remonstrance, my Lords, should be carried to the throne. The King has been deluded by his Ministers. They have been imposed upon by false information, or have, from motives best known to themselves, given apparent credit to what they were convinced in their hearts was untrue. The nation has been betrayed into the ruinous measure of an American war, by the arts of imposition, by their own credulity, through the means of false hopes, false pride, and promised advantages, of the most romantic and improbable nature. My Lords, I do not wish to call your attention entirely to that point. I would fairly appeal to your own sentiments, whether I can be justly charged with arrogance or presumption, if I said, great and able as Ministers think themselves, that all the wisdom of the nation is confined to the narrow circle of the petty cabinet. I might, I think, without presumption, say, that your Lordships, as one of the branches

branches of the legislature, may be supposed as capable of advising your Sovereign, in the moment of difficulty and danger, as any lesser council, composed of a fewer number; and who, being already so fatally trusted, have betrayed a want of honesty or a want of talents. Is it, my Lords, within the utmost stretch of the most sanguine expectation, that the same men who have plunged you into your present perilous and calamitous situation, are the proper persons to rescue you from it? No, my Lords, such an expectation would be preposterous and absurd. I say, my Lords, you are now specially called upon to interpose. It is your duty to forego every call of business and pleasure; to give up your whole time to inquire into past misconduct; to provide remedies for the present; to prevent future evils; to *rest on your arms*, if I may use the expression, to watch for the public safety; to defend and support the throne; and, if fate should so ordain it, to fall with becoming fortitude with the rest of your fellow-subjects in the general ruin. I fear this last must be the event of this mad, unjust, and cruel war. It is your Lordships' duty to do every thing in your power that it shall not; but, if it must be so, I trust your Lordships and the nation will fall gloriously.

My Lords, as the first and most immediate object of your enquiry, I would recommend to you to consider the true state of our home-defence. We have heard much from a noble Lord in this House, of the state of our navy. I cannot give an implicit belief to have heard on that important subject. I still retain my former opinion relative to the number of line of battle ships; but as an enquiry into the real state of the navy is destined to be the subject of a future consideration, I do not wish to hear more about it, till that period arrives. I allow, in argument, that we have thirty-five ships of the line fit for actual service. I doubt much whether such a force would give us a full command of the channel. I am certain, if it did, every other part of our possessions must lie naked and defenceless, in every quarter of the globe. I fear our utter destruction is at hand. [Here and in many other parts of his speech, his Lordship broadly hinted, that the House of Bourbon was meditating some important and decisive blow near home.] What, my Lords, is the state of our military defence

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fence? I would not wish to expose our present weakness; but weak as we are, if this war should be continued, as the public declaration of persons in high confidence with their Sovereign would induce us to suppose, is this nation to be entirely stripped? And if it should, would every soldier now in Britain be sufficient to give us an equality to the force in America? I will maintain they would not; where then will men be procured? Recruits are not to be had in this country. Germany will give no more. I have read in the news-papers of this day, and I have reason to believe it to be true, that the head of the Germanic body has remonstrated against it, and has taken measures accordingly to prevent it. Ministers have, I hear, applied to the Swiss Cantons. The idea is preposterous! The Swiss never permit their troops to go beyond sea. But, my Lords, if even men were to be procured in Germany, how will you march them to the water-side? Have not our Ministers applied for the port of Embden, and has it not been refused? I say, you will not be able to procure men even for your home-defence, if some immediate steps be not taken. I remember during the last war, it was thought advisable to levy independent companies; they were, when completed, formed into battalions, and proved of great service. I love the army; I know its use; but I must nevertheless own, that I was a great friend to the measure of establishing a national militia. I remember the last war, that there were three camps formed of that corps, at once in this kingdom. I saw them myself; one at Winchester; another in the West, at Plymouth; and a third, if I recollect right, at Chatham. [Told he was right]. Whether the militia is at present in such a state as to answer the valuable purposes it did then, or is capable of being rendered so, I will not pretend to say; but I see no reason, why in such a critical state of affairs, the experiment should not be made; and why it may not be put again on the former respectable footing. I remember, all circumstances considered, when appearances were not nearly so melancholy and alarming as they are, that there were more troops in the county of Kent alone, for the defence of the kingdom, than there are now in the whole island.

My

My Lords, I contend, that we have not, nor can procure, any force sufficient to subdue America. It is monstrous to think of it. There are several noble Lords present, well acquainted with military affairs. I call upon any one of them to rise and pledge himself, that the military force now within the kingdom is adequate to its defence, or that any possible force to be procured from Germany, Switzerland, or elsewhere, will be equal to the conquest of America. I am too perfectly persuaded of their abilities and integrity, to expect any such assurance from them. Oh! but if America is not to be conquered, she is to be treated with. Conciliation is at length thought of; terms are to be offered. Who are the persons that are to treat on the part of this afflicted and deluded country? The very men who have been the authors of our misfortunes: the very men who have endeavoured, by the most pernicious policy, the highest injustice and oppression, the most cruel and devastating war, to enslave those people they would conciliate, to gain the confidence and affection of those who have survived the Indian tomahawk and German bayonet. Can your Lordships entertain the most distant prospect of success from such a treaty, and such negotiators? No, my Lords, the Americans have virtue, and they must detest the principles of such men; they have understanding, and too much wisdom, to trust to the cunning and narrow politics which must cause such overtures on the part of the merciless persecutors. My Lords, I maintain, that they would shun, with a mixture of prudence and detestation, any proposition coming from that quarter. They would receive terms from such men, as snares to allure and betray. They would dread them as ropes meant to be put about their legs to entangle and overthrow them in certain ruin.

My Lords, supposing that our domestic danger, if at all, is far distant; that our enemies will leave us at liberty to prosecute this war with the utmost of our ability; suppose your Lordships should grant a fleet one day, an army another; all these, I do affirm, will avail nothing, unless you accompany it with advice. Ministers have been in error; experience has proved it; and what is worse, they continue in it. They told you in the beginning, that 15,000 men would traverse America, without scarcely the appearance of interruption; two campaigns

paings have passed since they gave us this assurance. Treble that number has been employed; and one of your armies, which composed two-thirds of the force by which America was to be subdued, has been totally destroyed, and is now led captive through those provinces you call rebellious. Those men whom you called cowards, paltrons, runaways, and knaves, are become victorious over your veteran troops; and in the midst of victory, and flush of conquest, have set Ministers an example of moderation and magnanimity worthy imitation.

My Lords, no time should be lost which may promise to improve this disposition in America; unless, by an obstinacy founded in madness, we wish to stifle those embers of affection which, after all our savage treatment, do not seem as yet to have been entirely extinguished. While on one side we must lament the unhappy fate of that spirited officer, Mr. BURGOYNE, and the gallant troops under his command, who were sacrificed to the wanton temerity and ignorance of Ministers, we are as strongly compelled on the other to admire and applaud the generous, magnanimous conduct, the noble friendship, brotherly affection and humanity of the victors, who condescending to impute the horrid orders of massacre and devastation to their true authors, supposed, that as soldiers and Englishmen, those cruel excesses could not have originated with the General, nor were consonant to the brave and humane spirit of a British soldier, if not compelled to it as an act of duty. They traced the first cause of those diabolical orders to their source; and, by that wise and generous interpretation, granted their professed destroyers terms of capitulation, which they could be only entitled to as the makers of fair an honourable war.

My Lords, I should not have presumed to trouble you, if the tremendous state of this nation did not, in my opinion, make it necessary. Such as I have this day described it to be, I do maintain it is. The same measures are still persisted in; and Ministers, because your Lordships have been deluded, deceived and misled, presume, that whenever the worst comes, they will be enabled to shelter themselves behind Parliament. This, my Lords, cannot be the case: they have committed themselves and their measures to the fate of war, and they must

must abide the issue. I tremble for this country; I am almost led to despair, that we shall ever be able to extricate ourselves. Whether or not, the day of retribution is at hand, when the vengeance of a much-injured and afflicted people will, I trust, fall heavily on the authors of their ruin; and I am strongly inclined to believe, that before the day to which the proposed adjournment shall arrive, the noble Earl who moved it will have just cause to repent of his motion.

The motion of adjournment was agreed to.

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C H A P. XLV.

Lord Chatham's zeal and anxiety respecting America—His last Speech in the House of Lords—is last Plan to preserve America—His sudden illness in the House of Lords.

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Lord Chatham's
zeal and anxiety
respecting
America.

NOTWITHSTANDING a negative had been put upon every proposition and motion made by Lord CHATHAM, concerning America, yet he resolved to persevere in the same line of conduct. To his zeal in this cause he sacrificed his life. He had not strength of constitution sufficient to bear the exertions he made. He was now advanced in the seventieth year of his age; had for many years suffered the severest pains of the gout; but possessing talents superior to most men, he felt with the sharpest sensibility, the progress of events, which passed with indifference before the eyes of other men, who had not his penetration: although debilitated by infirmity, and enervated by anguish of body and mind, still he refused to yield to the calls of his disorder, or to mitigate his torture, by the indulgence of a bed—while his country was bleeding at every pore, he felt for her, not for himself. Her honour and splendour had been his glory and his pride—her debasement and adversity were now the only subjects of his concern and anxiety.

On

On the 7th day of April 1778, the DUKE of RICHMOND having moved to present an address to the King on the subject of the state of the nation, in which *the necessity of admitting the Independence of America was insinuated*, Lord CHATHAM rose to speak again on this subject.

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He began by lamenting that his bodily infirmities had so long, and especially at so important a crisis, prevented his attendance on the duties of Parliament. He declared that he had made an effort almost beyond the powers of his constitution to come down to the House on this day (perhaps the last time he should ever be able to enter its walls) to express the indignation he felt at an idea which he understood was gone forth, of yielding up the sovereignty of America!

His last speech
in the House of
Lords.

My Lords, continued he, I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy! Pressed down as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my Lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the House of Brunswick, the heirs of the Princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance. Where is the man that will dare to advise such a measure? My Lords, his Majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom, that has survived whole and entire the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest; that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada, now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon? Surely, my Lords, this nation is no longer what it was! Shall a people, that seventeen years ago was the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell its ancient inveterate enemy, take all we have, only give us peace? It is impossible!

I wage war with no man, or set of men. I wish for none of their employments; nor would I co-operate with men who still persist in unretracted error; or who, instead of acting on a firm decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path.

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In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary, to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honour, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not.—But, my Lords, any state is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall like men!

When his Lordship sat down, Lord TEMPLE said to him, “You have forgot to mention what we have been talking about—Shall I get up?” Lord CHATHAM replied, “No, no; I will do it by and by.”

Lord Chatham's
last plan to pre-
serve America.

The conversation to which Lord TEMPLE alluded, related to the principal features of a plan, which Lord CHATHAM had formed with a view to effect the recovery of America. The first part of the plan was, to recommend to his Majesty, to take Duke FERDINAND of BRUNSWICK immediately into his service. Lord CHATHAM's design in this measure, was to make an impression upon France on the Continent, in order to prevent her sending that assistance to the Americans, which he knew the French Court had promised.—Another part of the plan was, to recommend an Union with the America—that America should make peace and war in concert with Great Britain; that she should hoist the British flag, and use the King's name in her Courts of Justice. His ideas went no further in this conversation. But he conceived an opinion, that when America saw the impossibility of deriving any assistance from France, the Congress would accept of these terms.

The

The reader cannot but observe, that this plan is perfectly consonant with his Lordship's former plan, which proved so eminently successful in the late war—of conquering America by making a vigorous impresson upon France in Europe. He saw, that a war with France was become unavoidable: therefore, with his usual penetration and spirit, he wished to commence that war immediately, upon his own principles. He detested that procrastination, which gave the enemy power, not only of chusing the period of his conveniency, but the first scenes of operation*.

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The Duke of RICHMOND having spoken in answer to some parts of Lord CHATHAM's speech, his Lordship attempted to rise, to reply to his Grace; but after two or three unsuccessful efforts to stand, he fainted and fell down on his seat. The Duke of CUMBERLAND, Lord TEMPLE, Lord STAMFORD, and the other Lords near him, caught him in their arms. The House was immediately cleared, and the windows were opened.

His sudden illness in the House of Lords.

* The war which France carried on in America, in conjunction with the United States, was infinitely more expensive, and injurious to England, than a war against France in Europe, would have been. That this is not an assertion founded in conjecture, may be seen by comparing the charges of the German war, during the years 1758, 1759, 1760, and 1761, with the charges of the American war, during the years 1778, 1779, 1780, and 1781—exclusive of the arrears at the conclusion of each war. See this point mentioned in Chap. XVI.—It was a saying of President HENAU, author of the History of France, that if there had been a succession of such Ministers as the Duke of SULLY, nothing could have withstood the power of France. In imitation of which, it may be said, with equal truth, that if there had been a succession of such Ministers as Lord CHATHAM, nothing could have withstood the power of Great Britain.

Dr.

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Dr. BROCKLESBY being in the House, his assistance was instantly obtained. His Lordship was carried into an adjoining room, and the House immediately adjourned.

This unhappy circumstance proved the melancholy prelude of his death. As soon as possible, his Lordship was conveyed to his favourite villa at Hayes in Kent; where he was attended by his confidential physician, Dr. ADDINGTON.

CHAP.

C H A P. XLVI.

Lord Chatham's Death—The Conduct of Parliament upon that event—Some traits of his Character.

LORD CHATHAM's infirm and emaciated state of body baffled every effort that skill and medicine could afford. The exertions he had lately made, had exhausted his frame and constitution. He languished at Hayes until the eleventh day of May, 1778, when he died; to the sincere regret of every British subject, and of every person who had a just sense of human dignity and virtue. Such a man appears but seldom.—CHAPTER XLVI. 1778. Lord Chatham's death.

LORD CHATHAM was a man of such extraordinary talents, that he would have made a shining figure in any station. Had he continued in the army, there is no doubt he would have died at the head of his corps, or have advanced to the head of his profession. He was not born for subordination.

Intelligence of his death being sent to London, Colonel BARRE, the moment he heard it, hastened to the House of Commons, who were then sitting, and communicated the melancholy information. Although it was an event, that had, in some measure, been expected for several days, yet the House were affected with the the deepest sensibility. Even the adherents of the Court joined in the general sorrow, which was apparent in every countenance. The old Members indulged a fond remembrance of the energy and melody of his voice; his com-

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commanding eye, his graceful action. The new Members lamented, they should hear no more the precepts of his experience, nor feel the powers of his eloquence. A deep grief prevailed. The public loss was acknowledged on all sides. Every one bore testimony to the abilities and virtues of the deceased. On this occasion all appearance of party was extinguished. There was but one sense throughout the House.

Conduct of
Parliament upon
that event.

Colonel BARRE moved, "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, requesting that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that the remains of WILLIAM PITT, Earl of CHATHAM, be interred at the public expence; and that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of that great and excellent Statesman, with an inscription expressive of the sentiments of the people on so great and irreparable a loss; and to assure his Majesty, that this House would make good the expence attending the same."

While the motion was reading, Lord NORTH came into the House, and as soon as he was informed of the business, he gave it his most hearty concurrence; lamenting that he had not come in sooner, that he might have had the honour to have made the motion himself.

The motion was agreed to unanimously.

On the thirteenth day of May Lord NORTH assured the House, that his Majesty had readily agreed to their address, respecting the interment of the Earl of CHATHAM, and to the erection of a monument to his memory.

Lord

Lord JOHN CAVENDISH said, that he hoped the public gratitude would not stop here. As that invaluable man, had, whilst in the nation's service, neglected his own affairs, and though he had the greatest opportunity of enriching himself, had never made any provision for his family, he hoped an ample provision would be made for the descendants of so honest and able a Minister.

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Lord NORTH coincided warmly in the noble Lord's wish; and Lord NUGENT, Mr. FOX, Mr. MONTAGU, Mr. BYNG, and several other Gentlemen, expressed the most sincere affection for the deceased Peer, and pronounced the highest eulogiums on his virtue and talents; adding, that he had neglected his private interests by directing his whole attention to national objects. Mr. T. TOWNSHEND, now Lord SIDNEY, moved, That an humble address be presented to the King, expressing the wishes of the House, that his Majesty would confer some signal and lasting mark of his royal favour on the family of the deceased Earl, and that whatever bounty he should think proper to bestow, the House would cheerfully make good the same. The motion was agreed to unanimously.

On the twenty-first, Lord NORTH delivered to the House the following message from the King.

GEORGE R.

“His Majesty having considered the Address of this House, that he will be graciously pleased to confer some signal and lasting mark of his royal favour on the family of the late WILLIAM PITT, Earl of CHATHAM, and being desirous to

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comply

comply as speedily as possible with the request of his faithful Commons, has given directions for granting to the present Earl of CHATHAM, and to the heirs of the body of the late WILLIAM PITT, to whom the Earldom of CHATHAM may descend, an annuity of four thousand pounds per annum, payable out of the Civil List revenue; but his Majesty not having it in his power to extend the effect of the said grant beyond the term of his own life, recommends it to House to consider of a proper method of extending, securing and annexing the same to the Earldom of CHATHAM in such a manner as shall be most effectual for the benefit of the family of the said WILLIAM PITT, Earl of CHATHAM."

GEORGE R.

The message was referred to the Committee of Supply; it was unanimously agreed to; upon which a Bill was brought in, and it passed unanimously also.

On the twenty-second day of May, the House agreed to present another Address to the King, requesting his Majesty to give orders, that twenty thousand pounds be issued, for the payment of the debts of the late Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, Earl of CHATHAM; and to assure his Majesty, that the House would make good the same. The request was complied with, and made good out of the current services of the year.

The particulars of the public funeral, and other circumstances connected with it, the reader will find in the Appendix.

There

There are some traits of his character, which are proper to be selected from the general eulogies, which are also in the Appendix.—

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The History of the Seven Years War, is the History of his Administration. The dread of his name, and the fame of his spirit, infused alarm and vigour into all the belligerent powers. He contended, therefore, with all their force.

Character of
Lord Chatham

The American Congress of 1774, in their Address to the People of Great Britain, said, "This war was rendered glorious
" by the abilities and integrity of a Minister, to whose efforts
" the British empire owes its safety and its fame." The treaty of peace which terminated that war, was a measure, which equally in the period of its execution, as well as in the terms of its construction, met with his sincere and unalterable disapprobation—His grand and his favourite designs, of humbling the *whole* House of Bourbon, of carrying the splendour and opulence of Britain to the highest degree of fame and wealth, were thereby frustrated and annihilated. The glory of the Minister, the honour of the Crown, the interest of the country, were all sacrificed to the revenge of a Faction, which seemed to acquire protection and increase of numbers, in proportion to the increase of the enormity, and perfidy of their crimes.

His efforts to preserve America, even to the latest moments of his life, indisputably manifest his high opinion of the importance of that great continent. In more than one conversation he said, America would prove a staff to support the aged arm of Britain—the Oak upon which she might hereafter recline,
shaded

shaded and protected by filial duty and affection. But his Majesty's *confidential* advisers wanted to cut down this Oak, and to plant their favourite weed, *unconditional submission*, in its place. In another age it may be admitted, that the Patriot was prophetic; that the Parricide was apparent.

He was the first English Minister who armed the hardy race of the North. It is immaterial, whether he adopted the recommendation from the plan given in Chapter XIV;—the measure shewed the liberal and comprehensive judgment of the Statesman. The North has ever been propitious to conquest. The world has seen it in the present day in Russia, pouring her legions against the luxurious South—like the Goths against the Romans. He saw the advantage intuitively; and therefore brought this martial race of men from their cold abodes in the northern extremities of the island, and directed their ardour and fierceness against the enemies of his country.

In the exercise of his duty as a Minister, he was assiduous and incessant. He gave no hours to private, or domestic interests. He had no levees, nor evening engagements: he devoted himself to the Public; and the nation possessed him entirely. His virtue and integrity were proverbial.

His whole study, his whole employment, his only attention, was the exaltation of his country, by the humiliation of her enemies. He grieved at the prohibition laid on the execution of his plans; and he died in an effort to preserve the dominion of a Continent, he had in part acquired, and would have wholly secured to the British name for ever.

APPEN-

A P P E N D I X.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Secretary Pitt to Thomas Cumming.

Good and worthy Friend,

Whitehall, February 9, 1757.

I Write this letter to you merely to repeat to you upon paper, what I have often said with great sincerity to you in conversation, namely, that I have so good an opinion of your integrity, and think the service you are going upon to Africa so likely to prove beneficial to the Public, that in case success attends your endeavours, I promise you my best assistance in obtaining an exclusive charter in your favour for a limited term of years, with regard to that vein of trade, which your industry and risk shall have opened to your country. Averse as I always shall be to exclusive charters in general, I think your case a just exception; so wishing cordially the favour of providence on your undertaking, I remain with much esteem, your sincere and faithful friend,

W. P I T T.

D I C K E N S O N, MAYOR.

At a Court of Common-Council, holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Friday, the 15th of April, 1757.

RESOLVED. That the freedom of this City be presented to the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, late one of Majesty's principal Secretaries of State; and to the Right Hon. HENRY BILSON LEGGE, late Chancellor of his Majesty's
Vol. II. a Exchequer,

Exchequer, in testimony of the grateful sense which the City of London entertain of their loyal and disinterested conduct, during their truly honourable, though short, administration; their beginning a scheme of public œconomy, and at the same time lessening the extent of ministerial influence, by a reduction of a number of useless placemen: their noble efforts to stem the general torrent of corruption, and to revive, by their example, the almost extinguished love of virtue, and our country: their zeal to promote a full and impartial enquiry into the real causes of our late losses in America and the Mediterranean: and lastly their vigilant attention to support the glory and independency of Great Britain, the honour and true interest of the crown, with the just rights and liberties of the subject; thereby most effectually securing the affections of a free people to his Majesty and his illustrious family.

The Answer of the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, delivered to Sir THOMAS HARRISON, Chamberlain.

GIVE me leave, Sir, to request the favour of you, to present, in the most expressive terms, to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of London, the high sense I have of the distinguished honour they have been pleased to do me, in conferring on me the freedom of the City.

I have ever been zealously devoted to the support of the liberty, trade, and prosperity of that great and respectable body; and I am now proud, and happy to have such cause to add the sentiments of truest gratitude for so generous a mark of their favour; and for so unmerited an approbation of my insufficient endeavours to carry into effect the most gracious intentions, and paternal care of his Majesty, for the preservation and happiness of his people.

The Answer of the Right Honorable HENRY BILSON LEGGE, delivered to Sir THOMAS HARRISON.

GIVE me leave, Sir, to beg the favour of you to return my sincerest thanks to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of London, for having admitted me to the freedom of their Corporation.

So eminent a mark of distinction, derived from the most respectable City in Europe, and to which so few have ever received the honour of admission, cannot but fill my heart with the highest sense of gratitude and regard; and though it far exceeds the bare merit of meaning well, which is all I have to plead, must prove a strong incentive to those, whom his Majesty shall hereafter think fit to employ, to exert with equal zeal, much greater abilities in the service of their country.

I hope every part of my future conduct, consistently with that which I have hitherto endeavoured to hold, will shew my firm attachment to the rights and privileges of my fellow subjects, as well as to his Majesty, and his illustrious family,

family, upon whose establishment the maintenance of those rights and privileges does so essentially depend.

The boxes, which were of gold, value one hundred guineas each, writing and ornamenting the above freedoms, cost the City 251l. 13s.

The example of the City of London was followed by the Cities of Bath, Chester, Norwich, Exeter; Towns of Newcastle and Worcester, in gold boxes; Yarmouth (Norf.) in silver; Bedford, Stirling, and several other cities and towns.

Dublin.

RESOLVED, That the freedom of this Corporation be presented to the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT and HENRY BILSON LEGGE, Esqrs. in testimony of this corporations respect for ministers, who, during a short administration, uniformly endeavoured to elude the corruption so fatally prevailing; to restore public œconomy, and make temperance fashionable; to reduce the salaries, and lessen the number of useless placemen; to revive the love of arms, and reconcile a military to a commercial spirit, and to make the government of Great-Britain beloved by Britons, happy to the subjects united with them, and respected by foreign powers.

Resolved, That the master do transmit said freedom to the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT and HENRY BILSON LEGGE, Esqrs. Signed by order,
EPHRAIM THWAITS, Clerk.

Copy of a Letter to Sir Edward Hawke at Sea, or at, or near, Rochefort, sent by the Viper, on the 15th of September, 1757.

Sir,

HIS Majesty, by his *secret instructions*, dated the 5th day of August last, having directed the return of the fleet under your command, together with the land forces on board, so as to be in England at, or about, as near as may be, the end of September, unless the circumstances of the ships and forces, shall necessarily require their return sooner; I am now to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do not consider the above-mentioned time, limited for your return, as intended, in any manner, to effect or interfere with the full execution of the first and principal object of the expedition; namely, attempting as far as shall be found practicable, a descent on the French coast, at or near Rochefort, in order to attack, if practicable, and, by a vigorous impression, force that place, and to burn and destroy, to the utmost of your power, all shipping, docks, magazines, and arsenals that should be found there, and exert such other efforts as shall be judged most proper for annoying the enemy. And with regard to any other particular attempt, which, agreeable to your orders, you shall have commenced, and in the execution whereof you shall be actually engaged. It is also His Majesty's pleasure, that you do not desist from, or break up the same, merely

and solely on account of the time limited for your return, by the instructions abovementioned; but that, notwithstanding the same, you do continue with the fleet, during such a farther number of days, as may afford a competent time for the completion of any operation under the above circumstances; after which, you are to take care to return, with the fleet under your command, and the force on board, in the manner directed by your former instructions.

I am, &c.

W. P I T T.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Secretary Pitt, to the Lord Mayor of the City of London.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Aug. 15, 1759.

HAVING, in consequence of the desire of the Court of Common Council, had the honour to lay before the King their resolutions of yesterday, for offering certain bounties and encouragement to such able bodied men as shall enlist themselves at the Guildhall of London, to serve in his Majesty's land forces, upon the terms contained in his Majesty's orders in council: I am commanded by the King to acquaint your Lordship (of which you will be pleased to make the proper communication), that his Majesty thanks the city of London for this fresh testimony of their zeal and affection for his royal person and government. ---I am farther commanded by the King, to express his Majesty's most entire satisfaction in this signal proof of the unshaken resolution of the city of London, to support a just and necessary war, undertaken in defence of the rights and honour of his crown, and for the security of the colonies, the trade, and navigation of Great Britain.

I am, with great truth and respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

W. P I T T.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Secretary Pitt, to the several Governors and Companies in North America, relating to the Flag of Truce Trade.

GENTLEMEN,

THE commanders of his Majesty's forces and fleets in North America and the West Indies, have transmitted certain and repeated intelligences of an illegal and most pernicious trade, carried on by the King's subjects in North America and the West Indies, as well to the French islands as to the French settlements on the continent of North America, and particularly to the rivers Mobile and Mississippi; by which the enemies, to the great reproach and detriment of government, are supplied with provisions and other necessaries; whereby they are principally, if not alone, enabled to sustain and protract this long and expensive war. And it further appearing, that large sums of bullion are sent by

by the King's subjects to the above places, in return whereof commodities are taken, which interfere with the product of the British colonies themselves, in open contempt of the authority of the Mother-country, as well as the most manifest prejudice of the manufactures and trade of Great Britain. In order, therefore, to put the most speedy and effectual stop to such flagitious practices, so utterly subversive of all laws, and so highly repugnant to the well-being of this kingdom :

It is his Majesty's express will and pleasure, that you do forthwith make the strictest and most diligent enquiry into the state of this dangerous and ignominious trade ; and that you do use every means in your power to detect and discover persons concerned either as principals or accessaries therein ; and that you do take every step authorised by law, to bring all such heinous offenders to the most exemplary and condign punishment : and you will, as soon as may be, and from time to time, transmit to me, for the King's information, full and particular accounts of the progress you shall have made in the execution of this his Majesty's commands ; to the which the King expects that you pay the most exact obedience : and you are further to use your utmost endeavours, to trace out and investigate the various artifices and evasions by which the dealers in this iniquitous intercourse find means to cover their criminal proceedings, and to elude the law : in order, that from such lights due and timely considerations may be had, what further provisions may be necessary to restrain an evil of such extensive and pernicious consequences.

Whitehall, Aug. 23. 1760.

I am, &c.

W. P I T T.

Copy of the Treaties between the King of Great Britain, and the King of Prussia, from the 16th of January, 1756, to the 12th of December, 1760.

AS the differences which have arisen in America, between the King of Great Britain and the Most Christian King, and the consequences of which become every day more alarming, give room to fear for the public tranquillity of Europe ; his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, &c. and his Majesty the King of Prussia, Elector of Brandenburg, attentive to an object so very interesting, and equally desirous of preserving the peace of Europe in general, and that of Germany in particular, have resolved to enter into such measures as may the most effectually contribute to so desirable an end ; and, for this purpose, they have respectively authorised their ministers plenipotentiary, viz. in the name, and on the part of his Britannic Majesty, his
privy

privy counsellors, Philip, earl of Hardwicke, chancellor of Great Britain; John, earl of Granville, president of the council; Thomas Holles, duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury; Robert, earl of Holderness, one of the principal secretaries of state; and Henry Fox, another of the principal secretaries of state; and in the name, and on the part, of his Prussian majesty, the Sieur Lewis Michell, his *chargé d'affaires* at the court of his Britannic majesty: who, after having mutually communicated their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

ART. I. There shall be, between the said most serene kings, a perfect peace and mutual amity, notwithstanding the troubles that may arise in Europe, in consequence of the abovementioned differences; so that neither of the contracting parties shall attack, or invade, directly or indirectly, the territories of the other; but, on the contrary, shall exert, each of them, their utmost efforts, to prevent their respective allies from undertaking any thing against the said territories in any manner whatever.

ART. II. If, contrary to all expectation, and in violation of the peace which the high-contracting parties propose to maintain by this treaty in Germany, any foreign power should cause troops to enter into the said Germany, under any pretext whatsoever; the two high-contracting parties shall unite their forces to punish this infraction of the peace, and maintain the tranquillity of Germany, according to the purport of the present treaty.

ART. III. The high-contracting parties renew expressly all the treaties of alliance and guaranty, which actually subsist between them, and particularly the defensive alliance and mutual guaranty concluded at Westminster between their Britannic and Prussian majesties the 18th of November 1742, the convention entered into between their said majesties at Hanover the 26th of August 1745, and the act of acceptance of his Prussian majesty of the guaranty of his Britannic majesty of the 13th of October 1746.

ART. IV. The present treaty shall be ratified by his majesty the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the king of Prussia; and the letters of ratification in due form shall be delivered on both sides within the space of one month, or sooner if possible, reckoning from the day of signing the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we the under-signed, furnished with the full powers of their majesties the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, have, in their names, signed the present treaty, and thereto set our seals. Done at Westminster the sixteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord 1756.

(L. S.) HARDWICKE, C.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.

(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.

(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE.

(L. S.) H. FOX.

AS the convention of neutrality of the date of this day, signed by the ministers of his majesty the king of Great Britain, and of his majesty the king of Prussia, furnished with the full powers necessary for that purpose, relates only to Germany; this convention must not be understood to extend to the Austrian Low-countries and their dependencies, which ought not to be considered as comprised in the present convention of neutrality, under any pretext whatsoever: the rather, as his majesty the king of Prussia hath not, in the eighth article of the peace of Dresden, guaranteed to her majesty, the empress queen of Hungary and Bohemia, any thing but the dominions which she possesses in Germany.

This secret and separate article shall have the same force as if it had been inserted, word for word, in the present convention of neutrality signed this day; and the ratifications of it shall be exchanged at the same time with those of the said convention.

In witness whereof we the under-signed, furnished with the full powers of their majesties the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, have, in their names, signed the present secret and separate article, and thereto set our seals.

Done at Westminster the sixteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord 1756.

(L. S.) HARDWICKE, C.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.

(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.

(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE.

(L. S.) H. FOX.

D E C L A R A T I O N.

In order to prevent any disputes that might arise between their Prussian and Britannic majesties, it is hereby declared, that as soon as his Prussian majesty shall have taken off the attachment laid upon the Silesia debt, and caused to be paid to his Britannic majesty's subjects what remains due to them of that debt, as well interest as principal, according to the original contract; his Britannic majesty promises and engages, on his part, to cause to be paid to his Prussian majesty the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling, in full satisfaction of every claim, which his said majesty or his subjects may have against his Britannic majesty, under any pretext whatsoever.

Done at Westminster the sixteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord 1756.

(L. S.) LOUIS MICHELL.

Treaty between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, April 11th, 1758.

AS on the sixteenth day of January 1756, there was concluded and signed between their Britannic and Prussian majesties, a treaty, the purport of which
was

was to preserve the peace of Europe in general, and that of Germany in particular; and whereas, since that period, France hath not only invaded the Empire with numerous armies, and attacked their foresaid majesties and their allies, but hath also excited other Powers to do the same: and whereas it is notorious, that the extraordinary efforts made by his Prussian majesty to defend himself against the numerous enemies, who have assailed him on so many sides at once, have occasioned very heavy expences, whilst, on the other hand, his revenues have been considerably diminished in those parts of his dominions, which have been the seat of war; and their majesties having jointly resolved to continue their efforts for their mutual defence and security, for recovering their dominions, protecting their allies, and maintaining the liberties of the Germanic body: his Britannic majesty is determined, in consequence of these considerations, to give an immediate supply, in money, to his Prussian majesty, as being the most speedy and effectual; and their foresaid majesties have thought proper, that, upon this head, there should be concluded a convention, declaring and fixing their mutual intentions in this particular: For this purpose, they have named and authorised their respective ministers, viz. in the name, and on the part of his Britannic majesty, his privy counsellors, Sir Robert Henley, keeper of the great seal of Great Britain; John, earl of Granville, president of the council; Thomas Holles, duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury; Robert, earl of Holderness, one of the principal secretaries of state; Philip, earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, another of the principal secretaries of state: and in the name, and on the part, of his Prussian majesty, Dodo Henry, Baron Kynphausen, his privy counsellor of embassy, and his minister plenipotentiary at the court of his Britannic majesty, and Louis Michell, his *chargé d'affaires*, at the said court: who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

ART. I. His majesty, the king of Great Britain, engages to cause to be paid, in the city of London, into the hands of such person, or persons, as shall be authorised for that purpose by his majesty the king of Prussia, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling; which sum shall be paid in whole, and at one single term, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, at the requisition of his Prussian majesty.

ART. II. His majesty, the king of Prussia, engages, on the other hand, to employ the said sum in maintaining and augmenting his forces, which shall act in the manner the most advantageous to the common cause, and the most conducive to the end, proposed by their said majesties, of reciprocal defence, and mutual security.

ART. III. The high-contracting parties, moreover, engage, viz. on the one side, his Britannic majesty, as well king as elector, and, on the other, his Prussian majesty, not to conclude any *treaty of peace*, truce, or neutrality, or other convention

tion or agreement whatever, with the powers who have taken part in the present war, but in *concert and mutual agreement*, and by comprehending each other by name.

ART. IV. This convention shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged on both sides, in the space of six weeks, reckoning from the date of signing the present convention, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, we, the under-signed ministers of his majesty the king of Great Britain, and of his majesty the king of Prussia, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present convention, and thereto set our seals.—Done at London the eleventh day of April, in the year of our Lord 1758.

(L. S.) ROBERT HENLEY, C. S.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.

(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.

(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE.

(L. S.) HARDWICKE.

(L. S.) WILLIAM PITT.

Declaration, belonging to Treaty with the King of Prussia, of 11 April, 1789.

IN consequence of the convention signed this day, his Britannic majesty very freely declares, that he will immediately apply to his faithful parliament, in order to be put in a condition to pay and to maintain, in Germany, an army of fifty thousand men at the expence of the crown of Great Britain; and his majesty, moreover, very willingly declares, that, in quality of elector, he will likewise augment the said army with a body of five thousand men; the whole of which shall act, with the utmost vigour, against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, in such places, as the reason of war, and the good of the common cause, shall require.

And that nothing, which can reasonably be desired of his majesty, may be left unattempted for the good of the common cause, in a manner consistent with the safety of his kingdoms, and the vigorous prosecution of the necessary operations in America, it is the intention of his majesty, that a considerable part of his land-forces, and a squadron of ships, destined for the service of the channel, should be employed in such a manner, as may the most effectually annoy the enemy; for which purpose his majesty has ordered a camp to be formed in the Isle of Wight. And as Mr. Michell, the Prussian minister, resident at his majesty's court, has represented, how advantageous it would be to the affairs of his Prussian majesty, that a detachment of the English troops should be sent to secure the town of Embden, till such time as the king of

Prussia shall be able to take proper measures for the protection of that place; the king hesitates not to give his Prussian majesty this fresh proof of his sincere friendship, and for that purpose hath ordered one of his battalions to march, without loss of time, to Empden; and he will cause to be communicated to the minister of his Prussian majesty a copy of the instructions drawn up for the commander of that battalion.

As soon as the convention signed to-day shall have been communicated to the parliament (a step necessary for making good the pecuniary supply therein stipulated), and as soon as, in consequence of that communication, the sum shall have been voted; it will then depend upon his Prussian majesty to make use of it at such times as he shall judge proper.

'Tis with the sincerest regret, that the king again finds himself under an absolute necessity of refusing to enter into any engagement with regard to sending a squadron of ships into the Baltic. In order, however, still further to convince his Prussian majesty, that the sole and only source of the difficulties which occur on this point, is the inutility and danger of sending thither a small fleet, and the impossibility of being able to spare one that could make itself sufficiently respected in those parts, and by no means a regard to any of the powers who have taken part in the war; and in order to demonstrate the more clearly to all Europe, that, from the moment of the ratification of the present treaty, their Britannic and Prussian majesties have the same friends, and the same enemies; the king is ready to make such a declaration, as, in the opinion of his Prussian majesty, may strengthen the common cause, and promote their mutual interests; in case the king of Prussia, in the present disposition of the courts of Petersbourg and Stockholm, recommends a language different from that which his Prussian majesty hath hitherto advised and concerted with the king.

Done at London, the 11th day of April, 1758.

(L. S.) ROBERT HENLY, C. S.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.

(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.

(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE.

(L. S.) HARDWICKE.

(L. S.) WILLIAM PITT.

Convention between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, 7th Dec. 1758.

BE it known to all those whom it either does or may concern, that the burdensome war in which his Prussian majesty finds himself engaged, laying him under a necessity of making new efforts to defend himself against the numerous enemies who have invaded his dominions; and being thus obliged to enter into new measures with his Britannic majesty, in order to provide, reciprocally
and

and jointly, for their mutual defence and common safety; and his majesty the king of Great Britain having at the same time signified a desire of strengthening the bands of friendship which subsist between the two courts, and to agree anew, upon this occasion, and to this end, by an express convention, upon the succours by which he may assist his Prussian majesty the most speedily and the most effectually: their said majesties have, for that purpose, named and authorised their respective ministers, viz.—[The names of the ministers are the same with those in the treaty immediately preceding.]

ART. I. It is agreed, that all former treaties, subsisting between the two courts, of what date and nature soever, and especially that of Westminster of the 16th of January, 1756, as well as the convention of the 11th of April of the current year, shall be considered as renewed and confirmed by the present convention, in all their points, articles, and clauses, and shall have the same force as if they were inserted here word for word.

ART. II. This article is the same with the first article of the preceding treaty.

ART. III. This article is the same with the second article of the preceding treaty.

ART. IV. This article is the same with the third article of the preceding treaty.

ART. V. This article is the same with the fourth article of the preceding treaty.

In witness whereof, &c.

Done at London, the 7th of December, 1758.

(L. S.) ROBERT HENLEY, C. S.

(L. S.) GRANVILLE, P.

(L. S.) HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.

(L. S.) HOLDERNESSE.

(L. S.) HARDWICKE.

(L. S.) WILLIAM PITT.

Convention between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, 9th November, 1759.

THIS treaty is the same with the preceding, except the alteration of the date; and is signed by the same ministers.

Convention between his Majesty King George III. and the King of Prussia, 12th December, 1760.

THIS treaty is also the same with the preceding, except the alteration of the date; and is likewise signed by the same ministers.

This treaty of the 12th of December, 1760, was the LAST treaty our court made with Prussia during the war, and it was the FIRST treaty made in the reign of George the Third. It was concluded in six weeks after his accession, and was a copy of the treaty of 1758, the THIRD article of which the reader has observed runs thus:

“ Neither of the high-contracting parties shall conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, or agreement whatever, with the powers who have taken part in the present war, but in concert and by mutual agreement, and by comprehending each other by name.”

The treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, signed at Paris on the tenth day of February, 1763, was concluded without the consent and mutual agreement of the King of Prussia. The fact is notorious, and established beyond contradiction. Thus was observed the maiden faith of the new reign, and the whole world were thereby given to understand, that the faith of the British nation depended not upon any sense of public honour or dread of private reproach, but upon the caprice of a favourite, deciding upon national measures, and influencing the appointment of ministers. Sir William Temple observes—“ A breach of faith is highly unjust in a subject, but absolutely unpardonable in a prince.”

CHARACTER OF GEORGE II.

THIS prince, though not born in this country, was educated in those principles by which the nation rose to power and happiness, and gloried in being the king of a free people. He carried the power and commerce of the nation to a degree to which they had never till then attained. Abroad, he established the importance, the honour, and dignity of his crown, upon a footing not known before his time to a king of this country, and made the name of Englishman respectable in every corner of the world. No foreign power trifled with his resentment, or despoiled his people with impunity. It hath been said that he had prejudices; and the assertion, from the mouths of Tories and Jacobites, should not surprise us. The nation was benefited by the prejudices of this prince. Abroad, they operated against the natural enemies

enemies of the kingdom; at home, against the enemies of the national freedom, and of the protestant establishment made at the revolution: against those who preferred the odious tyrannical government of the accursed race of Stuart, to the mild and legal government of the House of Hanover; against those who held to the divine, indefeasible, hereditary right of princes, and to the slavish doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; those men who, when in possession of power, in every instance, have driven hard to the destruction of England, and from whose pernicious projects this country hath been more than once saved by almost miraculous interposition. If he headed a party, it was the most glorious of all parties—the national freedom; if he encouraged and supported a particular set of men, it was those who distinguished themselves most in their attachment to that cause; if he were averse to another set, he was only averse to them as public men; averse to their being in the first departments of the state, because their maxims of government were incompatible with the happiness of his people; and when he did employ them, which he did more frequently than they deserved to have been, he took care to put it out of their power to practise their mischievous principles, by distributing them chiefly among the subaltern officers of the state, and by keeping a sufficient number of whigs in the higher departments to watch and over-rule their pernicious projects. If he loved war, he made not his own subjects the devoted objects of his vengeance. Foreign, national, natural, manly war, upon British principles, in defence of British rights, he indeed entered into, prosecuted with ardour, and reaped the most glorious consequences from, for this country. He was honest, wise, brave, and liberal. Capable of opening his heart to new connections, he did not contract and give it up to one man; but when the voice of his people demanded it, he yielded up the object of his choice, and received the object of theirs to his bosom. The greatest of his favourites, if he ever had any in the criminal sense of that term, were made to yield. Sir Robert Walpole and the Duke of Newcastle, who, by long lives of useful service, had well earned the favour of this monarch, had each their favourite measures, and at different periods were compelled to sacrifice an excise scheme, and a jew bill, and finally their places, to the demands of his people. He received Mr. Pitt from the people, as the gift of the people; and when the public good required a sacrifice of that resentment which had been excited in his mind by the parliamentary conduct of that person, who had opposed his best and most favoured servants with unusual violence, he made it with manliness and dignity.

SOME

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE CHARACTER

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY BILSON LEGGE.

By Dr. JOHN BUTLER*.

THE reputation of men, who have been distinguished by their parts, virtues, and public services, being canvassed by many who had little or no personal knowledge of them, and the judgments formed by others being sometimes malicious, and generally partial, there remains, in most cases, some justice to be done to the memory and real merits of such men. This is but seldom a popular undertaking. The public is more attentive to censure than praise; and, during the lives of eminent men, a true description of them is discredited, by the resemblance it bears to the language of flattery.

The character of Mr. Legge is so circumstanced, that a true account of him may venture to appear, without soliciting attention or credit. It comes too late to be suspected of flattery, and the public is prepossessed in its favour, which would be considerable encouragements to an essay of this kind, even without the farther advantage of an appeal, which might be made to many great and respectable persons, who knew Mr. Legge, and are qualified to attest any truth, or expose any falsehood, concerning him.

He was so well known, that it seems unnecessary to mention, that he was nobly born. The formal introduction of a pedigree is superfluous, in the case of a character eminently meritorious in itself; and his noble family will pardon the liberty of saying, that, however great the honour might be, which he derived from his birth, it became inconsiderable, when compared with his personal merits and excellencies.

He was not educated at any of those schools which produce most of the ornaments and supporters of their country; but he was a remarkable instance, how indifferent it is in what nursery a man of strong parts, natural wit, and superior judgment, has been raised. Notwithstanding he entered upon business very early, and applied himself to it with the closest attention, very few of his rank were so well acquainted with the most eminent Greek and Roman classics; and he was singularly happy in the application of passages, which he seemed to have hardly time to consider.

He was designed, in his younger years, for the service of his country, in the royal navy; but that service being at that time inactive, he quitted it after one or two voyages, and becoming known to Sir Robert Walpole, was received into

* Who was collated to the see of Oxford, upon the translation of Dr. Lowth to London.

the family and confidence of that minister; and, after having filled the station of his secretary for some years, he obtained a seat in parliament, and passed through the several offices of secretary to the treasurer; secretary to the Duke of Devonshire, father of the late Duke, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland; one of the commissioners of the admiralty; envoy-extraordinary to the court of Berlin; treasurer of the navy; chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and one of the commissioners of the treasury; and he continued, to the last, one of his majesty's privy council.

These things are barely, and perhaps not accurately mentioned, because other men have passed through such offices. Eminence of station not being, in every case, an argument of eminent worth, it is, in itself, but a feeble recommendation to posterity, and will prove no more at best, than that the person exalted was fortunate. The moderation and equanimity with which Mr. Legge bore his success, was the more extraordinary, as he was one of the few men advanced to high offices, who are not so much obliged to fortune, as to themselves; and if his character could be duly represented to future times, his promotion would appear to have done honour to the present age.

The characters of persons of distinction are often celebrated, by a recital of the vices and failings from which they are exempt; and in this view, there are perhaps none, among the most exceptionable, totally excluded from praise. But this would be but a poor description of the real virtues and excellencies of Mr. Legge. They were inconsistent with many or great failings, and they so possessed the attention of his observers, and so effectually concealed the few foibles which he might have, that malice itself appears, from some things which were said of him, to have been quite at a loss, on what part of his character to alight.

He did not pretend to be singular in any of his virtues, and it would be a needless exaggeration to represent him so. But some of the virtues he had, appeared so much the genuine result of that happy constitution of heart and temper, which distinguished him, that they became characteristical in him; and a description of his person and manner would not present him more strikingly to the memory of those who knew him, than the bare mention of his integrity, candour, and benevolence.

But he was distinguished by abilities less common than even his virtues. They might seem to be limited, as having been chiefly displayed to the public, in the last office he filled. But the fundamental qualifications for such offices of business as are not professional, being much the same, it may be said, without derogating from the great men who have excelled in their departments, that Mr. Legge was qualified for any. With a penetrating apprehension, and a memory remarkably tenacious of substantial knowledge, he had a judgment so clear and sound, that it seems hardly possible for any human mind to be more accurate, unembarrassed, and comprehensive of all the ideas related to the subject before him, as well as of all the consequences which follow from comparing them.

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He assisted these great powers of his understanding by an indefatigable industry, not commonly annexed to extraordinary parts; and he kept his mind open for the admission of any material instruction, by a modesty of temper natural to men who seem to need instruction least. Though he was never first commissioner of the treasury, yet his office of chancellor of the exchequer obliging him to move for the supplies in parliament, and to promise the ways and means, he seemed to think himself responsible for his knowledge in the business of his office, as well as for his integrity in the discharge of it. He did not, it is well known, solicit, nor accept the office without reluctance, being discouraged by the distinguished abilities of two great predecessors of his, whose eminence in that branch was particularly known and understood by him.

But he was prevailed with to sacrifice his ease and happiness; and he soon manifested how considerable the sacrifice was, in his estimation, by the assiduity with which he applied himself to the study of the whole system of the public revenue, as well as by the gratitude with which he embraced the aids that books or men could give him; and, by naturalizing in his own mind all the knowledge he could collect, he acquired in a very short space of time as familiar an acquaintance with that complex important business, as if he had been trained up to it from his infancy, and had made it the sole study of his life.

He digested in his thoughts, and knew how to deliver with the utmost precision and perspicuity, a methodical account of the produce of every tax; of its former state; of its probable future diminution or increase; of its relation to any other tax, as well as to public liberty; of the condition of every branch of trade and luxury, and of the country in general, to bear the burthens laid upon it; of the state of public credit, and the due proportion between the terms of a loan and the public exigencies; of the means of alleviating the national burthens, by real œconomy, in the reduction of the establishment, as well as by practicable unpretending schemes for the gradual discharge of the public debt; and of the various contingencies which might forward or retard that great work. He has left written evidences of the singular skill and accuracy with which he considered each of these subjects.

Furnished with this knowledge, to a degree apparently peculiar to him, he entered upon his office with the additional advantage of a general prepossession in favour of his integrity; and during the time he served the crown in that department, he executed, without the power of a minister, and without any loss of popularity, the most unpopular, though at that time necessary work of raising more supplies, than had ever been raised, within the same number of years.

The popularity of the administration with which he acted, and the encouraging successes of the war, doubtless greatly assisted him; and it would be infamous to detract, in any degree, from the merits of an administration which did so much honour to the king and nation. But they who have the spirit to persevere, in admiring the public measures of that time, will do Mr. Legge the justice to confess, that his personal merit, and his credit with parliament and with the public, were always clearly discernible, when he conducted the invidious part of the business of government.

Without pretending to eloquence, and with a subject which will not easily admit the exercise of that talent, he was heard with an attention seldom paid to speeches, which must consist principally of arithmetical details. He was sure to keep up that attention, by a precision in his thoughts, which would not permit him, had he been inclined, to be tediously verbose; and he preserved his own, and, in a certain degree, the credit of government, by neither pretending nor promising more than he could, with the strictest regard to truth.

After his dismissal from office, he continued, whilst his health would permit, to attend with the same application and vigilance, to the national finances, as a member of parliament; and, in more than one instance, he assisted persons who had no particular claims upon him, rather than the crown or public should suffer by his silence. And this is he did at a time when he thought himself personally affronted, by the resolution of a great board to deprive a near relation of his, who was not of an age to be obnoxious to government himself, of an emolument which had with equal propriety and kindness been conferred upon him.

With so deep and extensive a fund of knowledge, so precisely arranged in his mind, and most judiciously applied to the service of his country, Mr. Legge was eminently qualified for the more inactive enjoyments of literature. Besides the pleasure he extracted from the best historians, philosophers, and divines, he had a taste for works of imagination, not common even among scholars; and knew how to relieve his labours and cares, in his few vacant hours, with the best writers of that kind, ancient and modern, whose beauties he would relish and assimilate to his own ideas, with all the satisfaction of an ingenious man at perfect leisure.

But his friends could not spare him much uninterrupted pleasure of this sort; for he had another faculty, likewise foreign to the unentertaining track of business. He was one of the best companions of his time. His wit was copious, easy, chearful, chaste, and original. He would animate the gravest conversation with some striking image which presented all the essential circumstances of a subject at once before the mind; he illustrated his images by embellishments, which the most fruitful imagination could not produce, without the aid of a most chearful temper. Having a perpetual supply of this sort of entertainment, he was never tempted to have recourse to the poor expedient of keeping up mirth by excesses of licentiousness. Nor would his humanity suffer him to display his wit at the expence of any person in company. He could be lively without the aid of other men's foibles; or if they pressed upon him so directly, as not to be avoided, his raillery was inoffensive, and even agreeable to the object of it. If absent men were mentioned, whom he either disliked or despised, he had the happy art of venting his disgust or contempt by some pleasant expression of indifference, which sheltered perhaps an odious or a despicable character from more severe reflections, by only giving it a ridiculous aspect. Had his good sayings been treasured up, as those of much inferior wits have been, they would have descended to posterity; and many of them would have been relished, without a comment, in any age. But he aimed at

no reputation of this sort, and was so natural and easy in his manner, that his brightest thoughts dropped from him, like common conversation, without the least appearance of any view to the success with which they were delivered.

These extraordinary powers, which are seldom united in the same mind, and continued remarkably vigorous in his, to his last moments, were the more amiable as well as solid in him, as they were accompanied by a most virtuous heart. It would be a painful task, and revive the excesses of private grief, to represent the loss of him in his domestic character, where he was, in every respect and relation, an illustrious example of fidelity and tenderness. But his benevolence was not limited here, nor by any other known boundary, than the limits of his power, or the demerits perhaps of particular men. Nor were these, in every case, obstacles to his good-will. He had doubtless penetration enough to discern human failings upon a very slight acquaintance; but he never suffered his mind to dwell upon them, if he could discover, or thought he had discovered a sufficient quantity of that probity and good-nature, which he valued above other accomplishments, and esteemed a compensation for many failings.

He seemed more particularly averse to hypocrisy and affectation of every sort, perhaps as being most opposite to his own temper and character. Common infirmities appeared either ridiculous or tolerable to him; but he could not bear to see the commerce of mutual good-will and esteem interrupted by the frauds of unfair dealers, who give themselves credit for more virtue and ability than they have. He had a better right than most men, to entertain and express a strong dislike of such persons, not only as he was disposed, in other cases, to make great allowance for the natural desire men have to advance forward in life. He was known to contribute warmly, to the utmost of his power, sometimes at the hazard of his power, to promote the views of his friends. He would ingenuously confess, that he had an end of his own, in conferring such obligations. His state of health, till within a year before he died, seemed to promise him a vigorous and lasting old age; and he thought a faithful obliged friend would be the most valuable of all the *Subsidia Senectutis*.

His sincerity being like the rest of his virtues, tinged with his natural good-humour, produced in him that amiable candour which sometimes broke out, in the midst of political contests, in a frank acknowledgment of truths on either side, which little minds, engaged in contests, are studious to suppress. Indeed, he could well afford to be candid on all occasions, being conscious, that the known purity of his intentions would support him in any concession which truth or good-nature impelled him to make.

He was as ingenuous in speaking of himself, as upon any other subject; and, instead of urging his pretensions with vehemence, or, as is often done, with a disregard to truth, he was never known to assume false merit in his conduct, either public or private; and his friends rather blamed him, for not valuing himself sufficiently upon the merit he could truly pretend to. But he was of too gentle and easy a mind, to avail himself of all his claims, and trusted

to

to the world, of which he had a better opinion, than men of penetration generally have, that his conduct, so far as it was understood, would secure to him as much reputation, as he desired. Nor was he deceived in his opinion, for the inward respect of mankind towards him was as general, as he could have wished it to be, had ambition been his ruling passion. The public sense of his worth was signally manifested at one time, by many unsought marks of esteem, and such as have always been thought honourable. Nor did they appear to be the result of mere transient fits of popularity; for his reputation continued unshaken to the end of his life, and the almost universal regret of men of all parties followed him to his grave.

But the best men cannot pass through life without some censure. His known public conduct, and his exemplary private life, seemed to secure him from any attack of this sort. But envy and malice being keen and active, will suspect where they cannot charge, and insinuate where they cannot accuse. The strict and unaffected œconomy he practised in behalf of the public, as far as lay in his power, together with his aversion in his private life, to the mere glittering expences of vanity, brought upon him the suspicion of too much parsimony in his temper, which they, who best knew Mr. Legge and his affairs, know to have been ill founded. He did not transgress the bounds of his fortune, and involve his posterity in difficulties, in order to purchase to himself the temporary fame of splendour and magnificence; but he did full justice to the world, by living up to his rank and fortune, as well as by many private acts of beneficence, which he was too generous to divulge; and, after having evinced his disinterestedness, on many occasions, in the course of public business, he amply satisfied those, who might suspect him of parsimony, or might, from his unpretending manner, mistake him as wanting the spirit of which he did not boast, that he valued his honour more than any other consideration.

It would have sufficed to mention this in general terms, without entering into a proof of it, had he not made it his dying request to the noble personage, who was best intitled to his affection and confidence, to lay before the public, in vindication of him, the only reasons he knew of his dismissal from office. He had acquiesced silently in that dismissal, apprehending, that the time might come, when his irreproachable conduct and character would efface the impression of private misrepresentations. But when he found, that the hopes of a recovery, with which he was often flattered, in the course of his disease, were quite vanished, and that it would be his lot to die in a state of disgrace with a most amiable and virtuous k——, he apprehended for himself, lest his good name, which the best men have always wished to transmit to posterity, should suffer from a presumption, easily propagated, that there must have been something wrong in him, to produce a dismissal, which is, in the case of most individuals removed from offices of state, a punishment of misconduct.

He was therefore anxiously desirous, the world should know, that he was not turned out for any blemish in his private or public character, and he thought it the most satisfactory method of securing his posthumous reputation, to publish the few papers, which explain his case. He apprehended himself intitled to

do this in his own vindication, as the papers contain no secrets, either of state, or of private friendship. They are, agreeably to his desire, here laid before the world, in their original form, with only a previous short narrative of the transaction, which occasioned them.

Upon the present Duke of Bolton's accession to his title, in the year 1759, Mr. Legge was solicited to succeed his Grace, as one of the representatives of the county of Southampton, his own seat in parliament changing at that time to be vacant. He could not well have been importuned to an undertaking more unpleasant to him, and he declined it more than once, without reserve. The bustle of a popular election was unnatural to his liberal mind and manners, and a relation of that kind to a large county, in which he resided, might appear inconvenient to him, whose hands were at that time filled with public business. But he was prevailed with to accept the offer, by the repeated intreaties of his friends, which were enforced by the plea, that his fortune and character would do credit to a party, which had all his life been countenanced by government, and with which he had ever acted uniformly, though with undissembled moderation and good humour towards the other party. And he had the farther encouragement of hoping, from the interest of the crown exerted in his favour, in conjunction with that of the then prevailing party in the county, as well as with his own personal interest, which was very considerable, that his election would not be contested.

However he fell into the disagreeable work of a contest. His competitor was Mr. Stuart, now Sir Simeon Stuart; and he found Mr. Stuart's interest adopted by a noble Lord (Lord Bute) with whom Mr. Legge was not at variance; who had no apparent relation of any kind to the county; whom therefore Mr. Legge did not think of consulting, before he resolved to comply with the desire of his friends.

After the county had been canvassed on both sides, Mr. Stuart thought fit to decline, and Mr. Legge received the following letter:

“ Downing-street, Nov. 25, Monday evening.

“ Dear Sir,

“ Lord Bute sent to me this morning, and told me, that having an opportunity of saving you, he had embraced it, and done you an act of friendship; for that Mr. Stuart having been with him for his advice, whether to leave or pursue the election, as some of Mr. Stuart's friends thought this critical season of an invasion hanging over the kingdom to be a very improper time for parliamentary contests, his Lordship had determined the point for relinquishing the pursuit; in consequence of which Mr. Stuart was to acquaint you with his resolution of declining a poll. Lord B. added, that neither he, nor the greater person, whose name hath been used during the competition, would ever treat you with the more coldness for what hath happened: your part having been taken under an ignorance of their views and intentions; that Lord B. expected, however, as he had a claim upon you, in right of friendship, that you will
concur

concur with him, and give your aid to the person he shall recommend, at a future election. I answered to the last point, that I knew not, how far you would think yourself bound in honour to act with the body of whigs on such an occasion; but if this consideration did not hinder, I was sure you would be happy, to give him that or any other evidence of your respect for him.

"You will be pleased therefore, to consider well, and (if you please) with the advice of your friends, before you give an answer on this head, that may tie you down, for on that answer you plainly see, very much will depend.

"I am,

"Dear Sir,

"Faithfully yours,

S. M.

To this letter Mr. Legge returned the following answer:

"Holte, Dec. 5th, 1759.

"Dear M.

"I return you many thanks for your letter. Since I received it, I have had an opportunity of seeing a little more of the spirit and temper of the county, and can answer it better, than I could have done sooner. L——r H——e do me great justice in supposing I was totally ignorant of their concerning themselves at all in the Hampshire election, at the time my engagements were taken. I am obliged to Lord B. for any intentions he had to save me, by the advice he gave to drop the opposition; but if Mr. Stuart, or his friends, had accepted the offer I made, with the concurrence of my friends, at the beginning, and as soon as I discovered what turn the election might take, every wish of Mr. Stuart's had been secured, the peace of the county never been interrupted, little less than 5000l. a piece saved to us both; and what is still of more consequence, a month's fermentation of parties been entirely prevented, which never fails to turn them all sour. Many of these good consequences had likewise been obtained, if the gentlemen had consulted, and enabled Lord B. to put an end to the contest, before I left London, when you know how unwilling I was to push it to extremity.

"As to the event of the election, there was not the least doubt about it. The county was thoroughly canvassed, and upon as exact returns, as I believe ever are or can be made in a case of this kind, I could have given Mr. Stuart all the doubtful ones and all the neuters, in addition to his own poll, and yet have carried the election by a majority of 1400. I did not come into a single town, (except Alton) where it was not expected every day, that the opposition would be given up, and where almost any odds would not have been laid, that it never came to a poll. Nor do I think any consultation would have been held about dropping the affair, if all the money subscribed against me, and more, had not been expended, and all probability of carrying the point entirely vanished. This is my own firm opinion and belief, and yet, whoever

whoever reads my advertisement will see, that I have acted with the utmost candour, and given my opponents credit for such motives of retreat, as I am sure do them no dishonour. The expence indeed would have been enormous, if the dispute had been carried thorough, and so far I own there is a saving to us both, for I am convinced it would have amounted to above 20,000l. a piece. This is a sum I should have felt severely, and yet after my offer to compromise had been rejected, I must and would have spent it, and could have done it without mortgaging my estate; I leave you to judge, what effect it would have had on Mr. Stuart's.

“ After saying thus much, I am very far from having any personal dislike to Mr. Stuart; on the contrary, I think he has been cruelly treated by some of his friends; and if the prevailing party in this county will receive him without opposition, I shall be very well satisfied and glad of it. But if the whigs and dissenters, who are very numerous in this county, will make a point of opposing him, it will be impossible for me to declare for him, and abandon those, who have supported me, to take part with those, against whom they have supported me. This would not only put my own election in jeopardy, but be so ungrateful and disreputable a part for me to act, that it would in the same proportion make my assistance ineffectual to the person I should join with.

“ I am, &c.

“ H. B. LEGGE.”

Upon this answer, Mr. Legge received a verbal message from lord B. by Mr. M. Dec. 12, 1759, the purport of which was, as it stands upon Mr. LEGGE's paper, “ that he should bid adieu to the county of Southampton at the general election, and assist, as far as lay in his power, the P—— of W——'s nomination of two members;” to which message a categorical answer was required, and Mr. LEGGE sent the following in writing, on the same day:

“ Mr. Legge understanding it to be expected, that he (who never had engaged at all in the county of Southampton, if the intentions of L—r H— had been in time communicated to him) shall not only refuse to be chosen himself at the next general election, but assist Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Stuart, in opposition to those who have supported Mr. Legge at the late election; is determined to submit to any consequences rather than incur so great a disgrace.”

Lord B. sent a reply the same day, which Mr. M. wrote down from his mouth, in the following words:

“ The instant Mr. Legge represents himself as bound in honour not to decline standing for Hampshire, at the next general election, lord B. is firmly persuaded, that the P—— will by no means desire it of him; but he does out of real friendship to Mr. Legge beseech him to consider very seriously, whether, after triumphing over the P——'s inclinations at present, lord B. has any method left of removing prejudices, that the late unhappy occurrences have strongly impressed the P—— with, than by being enabled to assure him, that Mr. Legge will, as far as shall be in his power, co-operate with his R—— H——'s wishes at the next general election.”

Mr.

Mr. Legge returned the following final answer :

“ Though in fact Mr. Legge has been so unhappy as to find himself opposed to P—— of W——’s inclinations, yet as to intention, Mr. Legge feels himself entirely blameless ; and has too high a veneration for the P—— of W——’s justice to think, he will conceive lasting prejudices against any man, for resisting those inclinations, of which he was totally ignorant.

“ As Mr. Legge flatters himself, this consideration will induce the P—— of W—— to forgive his entering into engagements with the county of Southampton, he is certain that his R—— H—— will not condemn his adhering to those engagements, when entered into.

“ God forbid Mr. Legge should be suspected of triumphing over the P—— of W——’s inclinations ! The contrary was so much his intention, that from the moment he discovered, which way those inclinations lay, there was no endeavour he did not use, to avoid the dispute with honour ; nor did Mr. Legge exert himself, either in point of expence or personal application, till all compromise being rejected, he had no other part left to act.

“ Mr. Legge is obliged to Lord B. for the friendship he expresses towards him. Surely his lordship cannot doubt but that Mr. Legge should be extremely glad, if he could find himself in such a situation, as would permit him to have the honour of obeying the P—— of W——’s commands, and seconding his wishes, without breaking the faith he has openly and publicly pledged to the county of Southampton. This, if he were to do, he should forfeit all title to the P—— of W——’s countenance and protection, as certainly as he knows he should forfeit his R—— H——’s private good opinion.”

Here the correspondence ended. His late majesty died the year following, and at the end of the first session of parliament, after his present majesty’s accession, Mr. Legge was dismissed, or, as he chose to express it, TURNED OUT, after having served the crown and the public, in his department, during that session, with his usual ability and fidelity.

He had abundant resources, in his own mind, to reconcile him to private life, and might have had his disgrace glossed over by a favour, which he declined. He said it was his duty to SUBMIT, but not to APPROVE. He had the more valuable and independent satisfaction, soon after the event, to be unanimously chosen to represent the county of Southampton at the general election.

The circumstances of his last illness are no farther connected with this account of him, than as some of them remarkably confirmed it, by exhibiting the natural serenity of a strong and good mind, in the last and greatest of all human distresses. As he was above dissembling his satisfaction at the hopes of life, which frequently appeared, so he was above regretting the loss of longer life, or dreading the approach of death, when his case was pronounced desperate. He would reason about the little difference betwixt dying at one time or another, or of this or that disease with a most exemplary calmness, and with the same undisturbed state of mind, with which any philosopher in perfect health, ever wrote about death. And when the sentence of nature against him appeared quite irrevocable, he was a shining, though melancholy, instance of a truth, from which

which great conclusions have been drawn, that the life and vigour of the human mind, may continue to the last, unimpaired by the most extreme weakness and decay of body.

It would be too little to say of so excellent a man, that the memory of him will be honoured, during the lives of his survivors; for, if eminent ability and integrity, manifested in offices of the highest trust and consequence; if a zeal for public liberty, exerted on all proper occasions, with firmness and decency; if all the talents and virtues, which render men respectable and amiable, united in one conspicuous character, and applied to the benefit of mankind, give that character any chance for permanent fame after death, it may be confidently hoped, that Mr. Legge will, in the opinion of posterity, be entitled to one of the first places among the WORTHIES of the present age.

A N E C D O T E,

By another hand.

IT is a just remark, no matter who made it, that the wisest and best men are soonest forgotten. Every man's experience must furnish him with Instances of this kind, and it has been recently exemplified in the little regard which has been paid to the memory of the late Mr. Legge, who has scarce ever been mentioned since his death but for the sake of some idle pun upon his name. Yet, though some perhaps might boast of more specious and ornamental accomplishments, yet few were possessed of more useful and respectable talents. Sir Robert Walpole, who was no bad judge of men, upon his early acquaintance with Mr. Legge, gave his opinion of him in very awkward, yet in very expressive terms. He observed, that *he never met with a man who had so little rubbish about him*. Mr. Legge's conduct justified this sentiment of Sir Robert's; for in every Department he filled, he appeared to be perfect master of his office, and was at once clear, solid, judicious, and consistent. In short, Mr. Legge throughout supported the characters of a sensible and moderate statesman, without being a tool to any party or a slave to his own passions.

COPIES

COPIES of the *Declarations, Letters, and Memorials, which passed between England and France, in the Negotiation for Peace, in the Year 1761.*

Declaration of their Prussian and Britannic Majesties.

THEIR Britannic and Prussian Majesties, touched with compassion, when they reflect on the evils which have been occasioned, and must still necessarily result from the war which has been kindled for some years past, would think themselves wanting to the duties of humanity, and particularly regardless of the interest they take in the preservation and welfare of their respective kingdoms and subjects, if they neglected to use proper measures towards checking the progress of this cruel pestilence, and to contribute towards the re-establishment of public tranquillity. It is with this view, and in order to ascertain the sincerity of their intentions in this respect, that their aforesaid Majesties have resolved to make the following declaration :

That they are ready to send Plenipotentiaries to any place which shall be judged most convenient, in order to treat, in conjunction, concerning a general and firm peace, with those whom the Belligerent Powers shall think proper to authorize on their side, towards the accomplishment of so salutary an end.

I certify, that the above Declaration is the same which was dispatched to me by the Earl of Holderness and the Baron Kniphauzen, in the name, and on the part of their Britannic and Prussian Majesties.

Given at the Castle of Ryswick this 25th November 1759.

Signed L. D. de BRUNSWICK.

The Declaration of His Most Christian Majesty.

THE pacific dispositions which the Kings of England and Prussia expressed the last year, and which are conformable to the sentiments of all the Belligerent Powers, having met with some difficulties which have proved obstacles to their success, the Courts of France, Vienna, Petersburg, Stockholm, and Warsaw, have unanimously agreed to invite those of London and Berlin, to the renewal of a negotiation so expedient for the welfare of mankind, and which ought to interest all the powers at war in the cause of humanity.

With this view, and in order to proceed towards the re-establishment of peace, they propose the meeting of a Congress, at which they think it will be convenient to admit, with the Plenipotentiaries of the principal Belligerent Powers, no other than those of their Allies. If the kings of England and Prussia adopt this measure, his Most Christian Majesty, the Empress Queen, the Empress of Russia, the King of Sweden, and the King of Poland Elector

of Saxony, propose the town of Ausburg, as the place of Congress, which they only point out as a town within the reach of all the parties interested, which by its situation seems to suit the convenience of all the States, and they will not oppose the choice of any other town in Germany, which their Britannic and Prussian Majesties may deem more convenient.

His Most Christian Majesty, the Empress Queen, the Empress of Russia, and the Kings of Sweden and Poland, declare farther, that they have made choice of Plenipotentiaries, to whom they will commit their interests at the Congress, in expectation that the King of England, the King of Prussia, and their Allies, will speedily make choice of their respective Ministers, that the Negotiation may not be retarded.

The sincerity of this declaration, which the Courts of France, Vienna, Petersburg, Stockholm, and Warsaw, have, out of regard to the general good, determined to make to the Courts of London and Berlin, gives them to hope that their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, will signify, by a speedy answer their sentiments on a subject, so essential to the peace and welfare of Europe.

By order, and in the name of his Most Christian Majesty,
Signed, the Duke de CHOISEUL.

Letter from the Duke de Choiseul to Mr. Pitt.

SIR,

THE King my Master, acting in conformity with the sentiments of his Allies, in order, if possible, to procure the re-establishment of a general peace, has authorized me to transmit to your Excellency the Memorial hereto annexed, which solely concerns the interests of France and England, with respect to the particular war between the two Crowns. The King has reason to hope, that the sincere manner in which he proposes to treat with his Britannic Majesty, will banish all mistrust in the course of the Negotiation, if it takes place, and will induce his Britannic Majesty to make the King acquainted with his real sentiments, whether with regard to the continuance of war, or with respect to the conclusion of peace, as well as in relation to the principles on which they ought to proceed, in order to procure this blessing to the two nations.

I will add, that I am likewise authorized to assure your Excellency, that in relation to the war in which the King of Prussia is concerned, the Allies of the King my Master are determined to treat of their interests in the future Congress, with the same frankness and sincerity, of which I can give your Excellency assurance on the part of France; and that, so as not to depart from what is due to their dignity, their situation, and the demands of justice, they will bring with them to the Negotiation all the acquiescence, which their humanity dictates for the general good of Europe.

The

The King my Master, and his Allies, do not doubt but that they shall find the heart of his Britannic Majesty and his Allies, impressed with the same sentiments. I esteem it a happiness that my office makes me the instrument of conveying such favourable sentiments, which give me an opportunity of assuring your Excellency, with what distinguished consideration I have the honour to be, &c.

Memorial of the Christian King.

THE Most Christian King wishes that the separate peace of France with England could be united with the general peace of Europe, which his Majesty most sincerely desires to establish; but as the nature of the objects which have occasioned the war between France and England, is totally foreign from the disputes in Germany, his most Christian Majesty has thought it necessary to agree with his Britannic Majesty on the principal articles which may form the basis of their separate Negotiations, in order to accelerate as much as possible, the general conclusion of the peace.

The best method to accomplish the end proposed, is to remove those intricacies which might prove obstacles to its success. In the business of peace, the disputes of nations concerning their reciprocal conquests, the different opinions with respect to the utility of particular conquests, and the compensations for restitutions, generally form matter of embarrassment at a Negotiation of peace. As it is natural for each nation, with regard to these different points, to endeavour the acquisition of all possible advantages, interest and distrust occasion oppositions and produce delays. To obviate these inconveniences, and to testify the sincerity of his proceedings in the course of the Negotiation of peace with England, the Most Christian King proposes to agree with his Britannic Majesty, that, with respect to the particular war of France and England, the two Crowns shall remain in possession of what they have conquered from each other, and that the situation in which they shall stand on the 1st of September, in the year 1761, in the East Indies, on the 1st of July in the same year, in the West Indies and in Africa, and on the 1st of May following in Europe, shall be the position which shall serve as a basis to the treaty which may be negotiated between the two powers. Which shews that the Most Christian King, in order to set an example of humanity, and to contribute to the re-establishment of the general tranquillity, will make a sacrifice of those restitutions which he has a right to claim, at the same time that he will maintain those acquisitions which he has gained from England during the course of the war.

Nevertheless as his Britannic Majesty may think that the periods proposed of the 1st of September, July, and May, are either too near or too distant for the interests of the British Crown, or that his Britannic Majesty may judge it proper to make compensation for the whole, or for part of the reciprocal con-

quests of the two Crowns, the Most Christian King will readily enter into Negotiation with his Britannic Majesty in relation to these two objects, when he shall know his sentiments concerning them; the principal view of his Most Christian Majesty, being to testify not only to England, but to the whole world, his sincere disposition to remove all impediments which might defer the salutary object of peace.

The Most Christian King expects, that the disposition of his Britannic Majesty will be correspondent, and that he will, with equal sincerity, answer all the articles contained in this Memorial, in which the two Powers are so essentially interested.

These pieces were dated the 26th of March, 1761.

Mr. Pitt's Letter to the Duke of Choiseul.

SIR,

London, 8th April, 1761.

THE King my Master has authorized me to transmit to your Excellency, with all the dispatch which was found possible, the Memorial hereto annexed, in answer to that of the 26th of the last month, made by the order and in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, solely concerning the interests of England and France, relative to the particular war between the two Crowns, which was accompanied by a letter from your Excellency of the same date, transmitted to me by M. the Prince Galitzin.

His Majesty has published his real sentiments, with regard to the salutary business of Peace, with the sincerity which his Christian Majesty desires, and of which he himself set the example; the King my Master, on his part, desires nothing more than, by the sincerity of his conduct, to remove all distrust in course of the Negotiation.

I will likewise acquaint your Excellency, that the King learnt with great satisfaction, that your Excellency was authorized to give assurance that, in relation to the war which concerns the King of Prussia, the Allies of his Most Christian Majesty are determined to treat with the same openness and sincerity as the Court of France, and that they will bring with them, to the Negotiation at the future Congress, all the acquiescence which their unanimity dictates for the general good of Europe.

I must add that, with regard to the war which concerns the King of Prussia, as well as with respect to the other Allies of the King my Master, his Majesty, always constant in fulfilling the engagements of his crown with the most scrupulous exactness, can never fail to support their respective interests, whether in the course of the Negotiation, (which may God prosper) or in the continuance of the war, (if contrary to all expectation this misfortune should be unavoidable) with the cordiality and efficacy of a sincere and faithful Ally.

As to what remains, it is superfluous to mention to what degree his Majesty wishes

wishes for this speedy establishment of the general peace in Germany, after the distinguished proof his Majesty has given, in so readily consenting to the proposition of so distant a place as the town of Augsburg for the meeting of the Congress.

Such are the sincere and upright intentions of the King my Master for the re-establishment of the public tranquillity. I think myself happy in having the charge of conveying such sentiments, and of having an opportunity of assuring your Excellency of the distinguished regard with which I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed W. PITT.

The Memorial of his Britannic Majesty, of the 8th of April 1761.

HIS Britannic Majesty, equally desirous with the Most Christian King, that the separate Peace of England and France could be united with the general peace, for which the King of Great Britain is so sincerely interested, that, in regard to this point, he even means that the contests which might arise between the two Crowns concerning their particular differences, should not occasion the least delay to the speedy conclusion of so salutary a work as the general peace of Germany; and his Britannic Majesty is the more confirmed in this sentiment, dictated by humanity towards so many nations, that he feels in all its extent the proposition which the Most Christian King establishes as a fundamental principle; that the nature of the objects which have occasioned the war between England and France, is totally foreign from the disputes in Germany.

In consequence of this incontestible principle, the King of Great Britain entirely adopts the sentiment of his Most Christian Majesty, that it is necessary to agree between the two Crowns on some principal articles, which may form the basis of their particular negotiations, in order the more to accelerate the conclusion of a general peace.

The King of Great Britain equally agrees in general to the proposition which the Most Christian King has made with an openness, in which his Britannic Majesty will concur throughout the course of the negotiation; that is to say, that, in relation to the particular war between England and France, 1. The two Crowns shall remain in possession of what they have conquered, one from the other. 2. That the situation in which they shall stand at certain periods, shall be the position to serve as a basis for the Treaty which may be negotiated between the two Powers.

With regard to the first branch of the aforesaid proposition, his Britannic Majesty takes pleasure in doing justice to the magnanimity of His Most Christian Majesty, who, from motives of humanity, determines to sacrifice to the love of peace, the restitution which he thinks he has a right to claim, maintaining at the same time what he has conquered from England during the course of the war.

With

With respect to the second head of the aforesaid proposition, concerning the reciprocal Conquests made by the two Crowns one upon another; that is to say, That the situation in which they shall stand at the respective periods assigned for the different quarters of the globe, shall serve as a basis for the said Treaty, the King of Great Britain again acknowledges with satisfaction the candour which is manifested on the part of his Most Christian Majesty in this article, by obviating, as he has done, the extreme difficulties, and by anticipating the indispensable objections, which could not but arise on such a subject; it being in fact self-evident, that expeditions at sea requiring preparations of long standing, and depending on navigations which are uncertain, as well as on the concurrence of seasons, in places which are often too distant for orders relative to their execution to be adapted to the common vicissitudes of negotiations, which for the most part are subject to disappointments and delays, and are always fluctuating and precarious: from whence it necessarily results, that the nature of such operations is by no means susceptible, without prejudice to the party who employs them, of any other epochas, than those which have reference to the day of signing the treaty of peace.

Nevertheless as this consideration, as well as that which respects the Compensations (if such shall be found proper to be made between the two Crowns) on account of their reciprocal Conquests, comprehend the most interesting and capital articles of the Treaty, and as it is upon these two decisive objects, that the Most Christian King voluntarily offers to enter into a Negotiation; the King of Great Britain, desiring to concur effectually with the favourable dispositions of the Most Christian King, in order to remove all impediments, which might defer the salutary object of peace, his Britannic Majesty declares that he is ready on his part to enter upon the proposed Negotiation with speed and sincerity. And more authentically to demonstrate to what extent the sincerity of his conduct proceeds, his Britannic Majesty declares farther, that he should be glad to see some person at London sufficiently authorized, by a power from the Most Christian King, to enter upon this subject with the British Ministers, in regard to the several articles contained in the Letter of the D. de Choiseul of the 26th of March 1761, to the Secretary of State of his Britannic Majesty, which points are so essentially interesting to the two powers.

By the order, and in the name of the King of Great Britain my Master,

Signed W. PITT.

Letter from the D. de Choiseul to Mr. Pitt.

SIR,

Versailles, 19th April, 1761.

I MADE the King my master acquainted with the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 8th instant, as well as with the Memorial thereto annexed.

His

His Majesty has remarked with real pleasure, the conformity of his Britannic Majesty's sentiments with his own, in regard to the sincere and open conduct which it becomes two such great Powers to observe in the Negotiation of a Peace.

The King has not delayed, Sir, the nomination of an Ambaffador to represent him at the Congress at Augsburg. His Majesty has made choice of the Count de Choiseul, at present his Ambaffador at Vienna, and he will repair to the town appointed, at the beginning of July, in the expectation which we entertain here, that his Britannic Majesty will send his Ambaffador thither at the same time.

The King has commanded me, Sir, to observe on this occasion to your Excellency, in answer to the declaration contained in your letter, that his Majesty, as constant as any other Power, in fulfilling the engagements he has made with the Allies with the most scrupulous punctuality, will continue, with that fidelity which is consistent with the integrity and dignity of his character, to make his cause common with theirs, whether in the negotiation for the peace of Germany, or in the continuance of the war, if, to the misfortune of mankind, the favourable dispositions in which the Belligerent Powers are at present should not be attended with the success which is so earnestly desired.

I ought not, on this occasion, to omit informing your Excellency with what concern the King would see himself obliged to continue such a destructive war, after having entertained a confidence that all the parties were interested in putting a stop to the calamities it occasions.

As to what relates to the war in particular between France and England, I have annexed to this letter a Memorial in reply to that of your Excellency. We cannot be too zealous in explaining the upright intentions of our Masters, in order to remove, at the beginning of this interesting negotiation, those misunderstandings, which often augment, instead of lessening the delay.

You are a Minister, Sir, too enlightened, not to approve of this principle.

I have the honour to be, with most distinguished regard, &c.

Signed Le Duc de CHOISEUL.

The Memorial of his Most Christian Majesty of the 19th April, 1761.

THE Most Christian King perceives with satisfaction, that his Britannic Majesty agrees that the nature of the objects which have occasioned the war between France and England is totally foreign from the disputes which have given rise to the war in Germany; it is in consequence of this principle that his Most Christian Majesty offered the King of England to treat concerning the preliminaries relative to the particular interests of the two Crowns; but in making that proposition, the King of France, did not understand, as the beginning of the Memorial of London of the 8th of April seems to intimate, that the peace of Germany could take place, without the differences between France
and

and England being adjusted. His Most Christian Majesty has sufficient confidence in his Allies to be certain that they will neither conclude a peace nor a treaty, without his consent. He did not understand therefore, that the peace of Germany could be concluded distinctly from that of France and England, and he only proposed to the King of England, to separate the discussion of the two wars, in order to bring about a general peace for all parties.

His Most Christian Majesty renews the proposition which he caused to be made in the first Memorial, that the two Powers should remain in *Statu Quo* with regard to their possessions and conquests, according to the periods stated in the said Memorial; but his Majesty observes, that the basis of the proposition is necessarily connected with the epochas proposed; for it is easy to conceive that such events may happen on either side, as may absolutely prevent an acquiescence to the *Uti Possidetis*, if the epochas are distant; and his Most Christian Majesty has the more reason to recal the whole proposition, if the King of England does not acquiesce to the epochas annexed to it, since no one can doubt but that those periods were proposed at a time when they were not advantageous to France.

It is certain that the reciprocal conquests cannot be ascertained but on the day of signing the peace; but it is no less certain, that it is impossible to fix the basis of a negotiation for peace, otherwise than according to the situation in which the Belligerent Parties stood at such or such a period of the war. This is the light in which the King of France understood the proposition which he made to the King of England; and it is upon this principle, if his Britannic Majesty adopts it, that his Most Christian Majesty will send a Minister to London with credentials, and charged with full power sufficient to treat with the Ministers of the King of Great Britain, either with respect to the ground of the dispute, or in regard to the compensations proper to be made to the two Crowns, as well as concerning the interests of their colonies and their commerce. The disposition of his Most Christian Majesty, to put an end to the miseries of war, which divides the two nations under their government, is equal to that of his Britannic Majesty; but as the zeal on both sides should be alike, at the same time that the Most Christian King shall send M. Bussy to London, he hopes that the King of Great Britain will send an English minister to France, to treat concerning the same objects with his ministry. His Most Christian Majesty expects the answer of his Britannic Majesty on the contents of this memorial, in order to expedite and receive the reciprocal and necessary passports,

By order and in the name of the King my master,
Signed Le Duc de CHOISEUL.'

Mr.

Mr. Pitt's Letter to the Duke de Choiseul.

MONSIEUR,

Whitehall, 28th April, 1761.

I HAVE laid before the King my master the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me the 19th of this month, as also the Memorial which was annexed to it.

His Majesty sincerely wishes to maintain an entire conformity of sentiments with his Most Christian Majesty, in relation to the uniform and direct method which it is proper to pursue in a Negotiation equally delicate and important.

The King understands, Sir, with pleasure, that his Most Christian Majesty has made choice of the Count de Choiseul to represent him at the Congress at Augsbourg, and that that Ambassador will repair to the destined town at the beginning of July; and the King has charged me to inform your Excellency, that he has nominated the Earl of Egremont, Lord Viscount Stormont, and Sir Joseph York, to represent him at the said Congress, and that his Ambassadors will likewise repair to Augsbourg at the beginning of July.

It becomes me, on this subject, to acquaint your Excellency, that the regret of the King my master would not be less than that of the Most Christian King, to see the war continued in Germany, which is destructive to so many nations.

I annex to this letter a Memorial, in answer to that of your Excellency of the 19th instant, in relation to the war in particular between Great Britain and France. It is true, Sir, the principle of removing misunderstandings in business, upon all occasions, cannot be too highly approved; therefore it cannot escape the observation of your Excellency, that at the beginning of an accommodation, unexpected alterations naturally have the effect of involving the overtures in obscurity and uncertainty, rather than of introducing that perspicuity and confidence, so indispensable in a Negotiation between two such great Powers. As the natural remedy against inconveniences of this nature seems to be the presence of reciprocal Ministers, who, treating by word of mouth, may give an explanation immediately on starting of a doubt, your Excellency will see by the Memorial hereto annexed, the disposition of his Majesty in this respect.

I have the honour to be, with the most distinguished regard, &c.

Signed W. PITT.

The Memorial of his Britannic Majesty, of the 28th of April, 1761.

THE King of Great Britain, always influenced by the same desire of putting an end to the miseries of the war, which is unhappily kindled between Great Britain and France, has with pleasure concurred in every every measure which tends to remove the obstacles which impede so salutary a work. It is

with this view, that his Britannic Majesty will readily send Mr. Stanley to France, in the quality of his Minister, at the same time that the Most Christian King shall send Mr. Buffon to London.

As to what remains, his Majesty does not find by the Memorial of the 26th of last month, made in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, that the ground of the proposition therein contained, concerning the reciprocal conquests, is necessarily connected with the periods proposed; quite on the contrary; it is expressly about those very periods that the Most Christian King offers to enter into a Negotiation. These are the express words: *Nevertheless, as his Majesty may think that the proposed periods of September, July, and May, may be either too near or too distant for the interests of the British Crown, or that his Britannic Majesty should think proper that compensation should be made for the whole or part of the reciprocal conquests of the two Crowns; upon these two points, the Most Christian King will readily enter into a Negotiation with his Britannic Majesty, when he shall be acquainted with his intentions.*

It was in consequence of an offer so clearly expressed, and not capable of misconstruction, that his Britannic Majesty resolved to declare, that he was ready on his part to enter, with speed and sincerity, upon the proposed Negotiation. The King of Great Britain, persevering in his intentions, renews his former declaration; and his Britannic Majesty, to leave no doubt with regard to his inclinations, has forwarded the passport hereto annexed, and will be glad to receive one immediately in return from the Court of France, that, by means of a treaty by word of mouth, as well with respect to the grounds of the dispute, as in relation to the epochs, as also in regard to the compensation which may be agreed on between the two Crowns, they may be better able on both sides to clear up doubts, and remove all ambiguities from the Negotiation, which, in order to be effectual, should be conducted on both sides with sincerity, precision and expedition.

By the order, and in the name of the King my Master.

Signed, W. PITT.

Letter from the Duke de Choiseul to Mr. Pitt.

S I R,

THE King, my Master, entirely adopts the principle advanced in the letter with which your Excellency honoured me on the 28th of last Month, as likewise in the Memorial thereto annexed, with respect to the necessity of dispatching respective Ministers, in order to elucidate a number of difficulties, which it is impossible to obviate by letters and memorials. I should nevertheless have been proud of the honour of negotiating so important an affair personally with your Excellency. No one has a higher confidence than myself in the integrity and the uncommon talents which your Excellency possesses, and I do presume, that the intentions of the Kings, our Masters, being at once determined on peace, the sagacity of your Excellency, joined to my zeal for so precious

precious a blessing, would have smoothed all difficulties; but as our employs necessarily keep us at a distance from a personal Negotiation, M. de Buffy, who is used to transact business with me, will supply, near your Excellency, the desire I have of concurring in the salutary views of peace, which seem to animate all the Belligerent powers. I entreat your Excellency to grant him your favour, and I am certain that he will use his utmost endeavours to deserve it.

Your excellency will see by my private letter, to which his Majesty's passports for Mr. Stanley are annexed, some precautionary arrangements, which I propose to be settled, in order to prevent the inconveniences which might arise on the first dispatch of the respective Ministers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed, Le Duc de CHOISEUL.

Another Letter from the Duke de Choiseul to Mr. Pitt, of the 4th May, 1761.

I HAVE received the passport of the King of Great Britain, which your Excellency did me the honour to send for M. Buffy, in the quality of Minister of the King, my Master; and I send you in return his Majesty's passport for Mr. Stanley, whom his Britannic Majesty has been pleased to appoint in order to come to this Court in the same capacity. I think it my duty, on this occasion, Sir, to make some observations, which seem to me necessary to warrant the execution of the commissions of those two Ministers.

1. The King thinks, that his Britannic Majesty will judge it convenient that the two Ministers should be charged with full power from the respective Courts to use upon occasion.

2. That the two Ministers should each of them have Letters of Credence from the Kings, their Masters, which they shall deliver to the respective Secretaries of State only; that is to say, in France, to the Minister and Secretary of State for the department of Foreign Affairs; and in England, to the Minister and Secretary of State for the Southern Department.

3. As his Majesty's intention is, that the English Minister shall enjoy the same privilege in France, as if the two Courts were in the midst of peace, as well with regard to the common intercourse of life, as in maintaining a correspondence with the Court of England and the other Courts of Europe; and lastly, for the dispatch of his couriers, and with respect to all the prerogatives and franchises in general incident to his character; his Majesty relies, that M. Buffy will absolutely enjoy the same rights, prerogatives, franchises, and liberties, at London; it being understood nevertheless, that when one or the other are about to dispatch their couriers to their own or any other Court, they shall be obliged to require a passport from the Secretary of State in that department, which shall not be refused to them, any more than the necessary vessel to transport their couriers from France to England, and from England to France.

4. We desire to know when Mr. Stanley will be ready to leave London in order to repair to Calais, in order to direct M. Buffy's journey, so that he may repair to Calais at the same time, to be transported to England in the same vessel which brings Mr. Stanley over, if that is agreeable to the Court of Great Britain: if not, the King will keep a vessel, in the Port of Calais, which shall transport M. Buffy to England, in which case it will be proper to know what kind of vessel his Britannic Majesty will chuse to bring Mr. Stanley to Calais.

I believe your Excellency will find these observations proper, and that you will send me your answer as soon as possible.

Mr. Pitt's Answer to the Duke de Choiseul, of the 11th May, 1761.

SIR,

THE King my Master has learnt with real satisfaction, by the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write of the 4th of this month, that the sentiments of the Most Christian King are conformable to those of his Majesty with respect to the mutual dispatch of the Ministers from the two Courts.

I hope your Excellency will be persuaded, that I have a lively sense of the value of those obliging sentiments with which you have been pleased to honour me, and that, conscious as I am of your superior qualities, which have engaged the approbation of every Court, I perceive in its full extent how flattering a circumstance it would have been for me to have had the honour of treating personally with your Excellency upon so interesting an object, and to have shared with you, in point of zeal for the prosperous conduct of the Peace, the satisfaction of co-operating more immediately to give the people assurance of the effects of the salutary dispositions of the Kings our Masters. I shall nevertheless take real pleasure, upon all occasions, to pay the respect due to M. Buffy's character, as well as to his merit; and I can assure you, Sir, that the happiness which that Minister has had, of being used to transact business with your Excellency, is an additional circumstance which cannot but interest me extremely in his behalf.

I am persuaded that Mr. Stanley, who is descended from an illustrious family, and who entertains noble sentiments, will use all his endeavours to merit the honour of your Excellency's esteem, and he wishes to be recommended to your favour.

You will see, Sir, by my private letter, the reflections which have occurred in relation to the precautionary arrangements, which your Excellency proposed to settle, and I hope that no farther impediments will remain on this subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed W. PITT.

Another

Another Letter from Mr. Pitt to the Duke de Choiseul, of the 11th May, 1761.

S I R,

I HAVE received the three passports, which your Excellency has done me the honour to transmit for Mr. Stanley, in quality of Minister from the King my Master, and I in return transmit to you a second, which his Majesty has granted for the vessel which the Most Christian King shall think proper to order for transporting M. Buffy into England; and I annex the order to the Officers of the customs, for the free importation of the effects and baggage of the said Minister.

As to what relates, Sir, to the observations which you thought yourself obliged to make, to warrant the execution of the commission of those two ministers, it is with great satisfaction I assure your Excellency, that the King, in conformity with the sentiments of his Most Christian Majesty, is of opinion,

1. That the two ministers should be charged with ample power from the King their masters, to make use of as occasion shall offer.

2. That the two ministers ought, each of them to have letters of credence from their Majesties, which they shall not need to deliver but to the Secretaries of the respective states, in the manner specified by your Excellency.

3. It is the intention of his Majesty, that M. Buffy should absolutely enjoy in England, the same rights, prerogatives, franchises, and liberties, as if the two Courts were in the midst of peace, and which Mr. Stanley, in pursuance of the intention of his Most Christian Majesty, is to enjoy in France; and that as to the dispatch of couriers, as well as every thing else which concerns the two ministers, the tenor of the third article of observations relative to this head, shall be observed in every respect.

As to what remains, concerning the time of the departure of the said ministers, as also concerning the manner of their crossing the sea, the king is of opinion, that in order to obviate all difficulties, Mr. Stanley and M. Buffy may respectively repair to Dover and Calais, to cross the sea each of them in a vessel appertaining to their own nation, which the Kings their Masters shall keep ready for that purpose in the two ports aforesaid. It is in confidence of this disposition, that I am obliged to acquaint your Excellency, that the King will dispatch Mr. Stanley from London, so that he may reach Dover on the 23d. of this month, unless we learn that a time so near at hand should be inconvenient to the court of France; and the King my Master relies, with full confidence, in M. Buffy's repairing to Calais on the aforesaid day, that the two ministers may cross the sea without delay, as far as the circumstances of wind and navigation will permit them. I will add to your Excellency, that Mr. Stanley will make use of a packet-boat from Dover, and that M. Buffy may cross from Calais to England in whatever vessel his Most Christian Majesty shall judge convenient.

I flatter

I flatter myself that your Excellency will find that these arrangements will equally facilitate the method of the two ministers repairing to their reciprocal destinations without inconvenience.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed, W. PITT.

The Memorial of the British Minister, of the 17th June, 1761.

Mr. STANLEY having represented by his letter of the 8th of June, that the D. de Choiseul, in the course of their conferences, had agreed *That the epochs must still remain a matter of negociation, but that his Excellency nevertheless was of opinion, that in the present state of that affair, according to the natural and usual course of things, his Most Christian Majesty having already named the first of September, July, and May, his Britannic Majesty should proceed, either by accepting of those days, or by naming others more agreeable to his intentions, which were probably regulated by preparations and designs of which the court of France was ignorant; that this method appeared to him more likely to expedite the business than the making of reiterated propositions on their part, which could only be grounded on mere conjecture.* It is upon this footing, that, in order to make a return to the above invitation on the part of France, as well as in consequence of his Majesty's having accepted the proposition of the said court of the 26th March last, his Majesty offers to agree with the Most Christian King, that the first day of July, September and November following, shall respectively be the different periods or epochs, to fix the *Uti Possidetis* which France has proposed to make the basis of the treaty which may be negociated between the two powers. All other conquests made beyond these periods shall be mutually restored. But as his Majesty is of opinion that epochs which have no reference to the actual signature of something obligatory between the two Crowns, must necessarily be only a vain illusion, void of use or reality; or that it might even happen that in the end they may prove the source of intricate disputes, and dangerous and captious altercations; and the King having no other view but to concur with the upright intentions of his Most Christian Majesty, in accelerating and confirming the blessing of peace to both nations, his Majesty only offers to agree to the aforesaid epoch, on the two following conditions.

1. That every thing which shall be happily adjusted between the two crowns, in relation to their particular war, shall be made obligatory, final, and conclusive, independent of the negociation at Augsburg, which is to compose and terminate the disputes of Germany, and to re-establish a general peace.

2. That the said definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and France shall be concluded, signed and ratified, or preliminary articles to that end, between this and the first of August next.

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The restitution of the prizes taken at sea, shall be regulated according to the respective terms which are usual for different parts of the globe; which terms are to be computed from the day of the signature of the said definitive treaty, or of preliminary articles of peace, in case a ratification ensues.

The King desiring farther to facilitate the salutary work of peace, as far as reason and justice will admit, declares, moreover, that with regard to Belle-Isle, his Majesty will agree, in the said future treaty, to enter into compensation for that important conquest.

With regard to farther compensations for any part of the other conquests made by the crown of Great Britain, his Majesty reserves himself, till he shall learn what are the Most Christian King's desires in that respect, which when he shall know, his Majesty will open himself with perfect sincerity and good faith.

The French Memorial of Propositions, 15th July, 1761.

THE negotiations of peace entered upon between France and England, have proved that the Sovereigns sincerely wish to re-establish that union and amity, so agreeable to humanity, between the two crowns; and the resolution in which the King concurs, in conjunction with his Britannic Majesty, to terminate by a precise and durable treaty, the differences which have occasioned the present war, has determined his Majesty, always maintaining the spirit and letter of the declaration of the 26th March last, in relation to the means of procuring peace, to explain more precisely by this memorial, the conditions, which appear to him most proper to accomplish the desirable end which influences him as well as the King of England.

But the King declares at the same time, that he entrusts this proposition with the King of Great Britain, that if it should not be accepted by his Britannic Majesty, or should not serve as a basis for the negotiation of the future peace, the Court of London shall in no circumstances take advantage of it, the said proposition made in confidence to the King of Great Britain having no other object than the accelerating of a negotiation in which the two crowns are so much interested.

The *Uti Possidetis* expressed in the declaration of the 26th March, is adopted on both sides; it would be difficult for either party to reject it; for though it was not expressed, it is properly according to what they possess only either lawfully or by conquest, that the parties can negotiate together concerning peace, and the compensations requisite for that purpose.

The periods of the *Statu Quo*, which form the second essential article in the declaration of the 26th March, and which have remained in negotiation between the two Courts, have not yet been settled. The Court of France has proposed the epochs of May, July, and September; that of England has proposed the epochs of July, September and November. That question will be determined without farther negotiation, if the scheme of the following treaty

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is adopted by the Court of London; for then all the epochs will be valid, as that of the peace will unite the sentiments and opinions of the two Kings.

It is the compensations therefore which will determine the epochs and the peace, and it is to settle them that his Majesty proposes the following articles to the King of Great Britain.

ARTICLE I. The King cedes and guarantees Canada to the King of England, such as it has been and in right ought to be possessed by France, without restriction, and without the liberty of returning upon any pretence whatever against this cession and guaranty, and without interrupting the crown of England in the entire possession of Canada.

ART. II. The King in making over his full right of sovereignty over Canada to the King of England, annexes four conditions to the cession. First, that the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion shall be maintained there, and that the King of England will give the most precise and effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may, as heretofore, make public profession of their religion, according to the rites of the Roman Church.

Secondly, that the French inhabitants or others, who have been subjects of the King in Canada, may retire into the French colonies with all possible freedom and security; that they may be allowed to sell their effects, and to transport their property as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, on any pretence whatever (except for debt;) and the English government shall engage to procure them the means of transportation at as little expence as possible.

Thirdly, that the limits of Canada, with regard to Louisiana, shall be clearly and firmly established, as well as those of Louisiana and Virginia, in such manner, that after the execution of peace, there may be no more difficulties between the two nations, with respect to Canada, or the other possessions of England.

[M. Buffly has a memorial on the subject of the limits of Louisiana, which gives him power to come to a final treaty on that article with the ministry of his Britannic Majesty.]

Fourthly, that the liberty of fishing, and of drying their cod-fish on the banks of Newfoundland, may be confirmed to the French as heretofore: and as this confirmation would be illulory, if the French vessels had not a shelter in those parts appertaining to their nation, the King of Great Britain, in consideration of the guaranty of his new conquests, shall restore Ile Royal, or Cape Breton, to be enjoyed by France in entire sovereignty. It is agreed, to fix a value on this restitution, that France shall not, under any denomination whatever, erect any fortifications on the island, and shall not confine herself to maintain civil establishment there, and the port for the convenience of the fishing vessels landing there.

ART. III. France shall restore to England the island of Minorca, and Fort St. Philip, in the same condition it was in when conquered by the King's forces, together with the artillery belonging to England, which was in the fort at the time of taking the island.

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ART. IV. In consideration of this restitution, England, in her turn, shall restore to France the island of Guadaloupe and Marigalante; and those two islands shall be ceded in the same condition they were in at the time they were conquered by the arms of England.

ART. V. The islands called neuter, are Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tabago. The two first are occupied by the Caribbees, under the protection of France, according to the treaty of 1660: they shall remain in the condition they have been since that treaty.

The Crown of England has not yet shewn any title, which gives them a right over the two last; nevertheless, it shall be a matter of negociation between the two Crowns, either that the four islands shall remain absolutely neuter, or that the two possessed by the Caribbees alone shall be declared neuter; and that England shall enter into possession, as sovereign, over the island of Tabago, in the same manner as France over that of St. Lucia, saving, at all times, the right of a third person, with whom the two crowns will explain themselves, if such a right exists.

ART. VI. It would be advantageous for the companies of the two nations in the East-Indies, to abstain for ever from all military views and conquests, to restrain themselves, and mutually to assist each other in the business of commerce, which more properly belongs to them. The precise situation in which the two nations stand, is not known in France: wherefore the King, in order to confine himself, in that respect, to the object most useful, both for the present and hereafter, to the two companies, proposes to the King of England the treaty concluded between Sieurs Godeheu and Saunders, as a basis for the re-establishment of the peace of Asia.

ART. VII. The colonies of South America, in possession of the French, necessarily require negroes to cultivate them; the French settlements of Senegal and Goree supplied the wants of the French colonies in this respect. England, in keeping those settlements, would prejudice France, without procuring any positive advantages for herself; and the union which the two Sovereigns so sincerely wish to establish between the two crowns, leaves no room to suppose that the court of London has any such intentions of mischief. Nevertheless, France, with a view to the blessings of peace, offers England the choice of the possessions of Senegal or Goree, meaning that one or the other possession shall be restored and guarantied to the King by his Britannic Majesty.

ART. VIII. The island of Belle-Isle and the fortress conquered by the arms of England, shall be restored to France, together with the artillery therein at the time of the conquest.

ART. IX. In consideration of the 8th article to be granted by England, the King will cause his forces in Germany to evacuate the Landgraviate of Hesse, the county of Hanau, as well as the town, which shall not be occupied by the troops of either power, leaving the navigation of the Maine free, and those parts of the Electorate of Hanover occupied by the French troops; and these evacuations shall be preceded by a suspension of arms between the two crowns.

which suspension of arms shall take place from the day of the ratification of the preliminaries, or the article of the definitive treaty, not only in Germany, but in all parts of the world where France and England are at war.

ART. X. As the King is under an engagement with the Empress Queen, to stipulate nothing in his treaty of peace with England which may be disadvantageous to her Imperial Majesty, and as it was foreseen that, in case of a suspension between the French and British forces, the German troops in the pay of England might join those of the King of Prussia against the Austrian armies, the King, faithful to his engagements with his allies, and very far from intending to settle any thing to her prejudice, proposes to the King of England, that it may be agreed between them, that his Britannic Majesty will undertake that no part of the forces which compose Prince Ferdinand's army of his Prussian Majesty, or act offensively against the Empress Queen or her allies; and in like manner, no French forces, under any pretence, shall join the Imperial army, or serve against the allies of Great Britain. To ascertain these positions, it shall be farther concluded, that after these evacuations, the army of the Upper Rhine, commanded by Marshal Broglie, shall retire towards the Maine, the Necker and the Rhine, occupying Francfort; and that of the Lower Rhine, commanded by Marshal Soubise, shall, on the other side, retire towards the Rhine, occupying Wesel and Guelders.

The countries belonging to the King of Prussia, on the Lower Rhine, have been conquered, and are actually governed in the name of the Empress Queen: the King would not undertake to evacuate them without the consent of her Imperial Majesty, and before the success of the Negotiations at the Congress at Augsburg, which is to restore Peace between the Empress and the King of Prussia; but as it would be disadvantageous to the two Crowns to maintain a considerable body of national forces in Germany, which, in time of peace, would remain in absolute inactivity, and, by the Conventions of the Treaty, would become useless in every respect to the Allies of France and England, the King undertakes, that, from the time that his Britannic Majesty do recall the English whom he has sent to his army in Germany, he will cause double the number of French forces in his Majesty's armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine to return to France, so that no French troops shall continue in those parts, but in proportion to those which the King of England shall keep in pay.

ART. XI. If before the execution of the treaty, one of the two powers should make any conquests, in whatever part of the world it be, they shall be restored without hesitation, and without requiring any recompense.

ART. XII. The captures made at sea by England before the declaration of the war, are objects of legal restitution, and which the King will willingly submit to the justice of the King of England and the English tribunals; in fact, subjects, who under the faith of treaties, the law of nations, and in time of peace, follow their trade and navigation, cannot without justice become sufferers by the misunderstandings subsisting in the cabinets of the two Courts, before they have any intimation of it. Declarations of war are established by the law of nations, for no other purpose, but to make public to the people the

the contests between their sovereigns, and to give them warning, that their persons and fortunes are in danger of an enemy. Unless such declaration is agreed upon, there can be no public security; every individual would be in danger, or in fear, every moment that he stepped beyond the limits of his own country. If these principles are incontestible, nothing remains but to examine the date of the declaration of war, between the two crowns, and the date of the captures; all that has been taken prior to the declaration, cannot be adjudged lawful prize, without overthrowing the most salutary laws; it will be in vain to alledge that the French began hostilities, and that the captures were taken by way of reprisal. What connection can there be between supposed hostilities offered at Fort Duquesne, and the capture of trading vessels in the south part of America? These hostilities are the motives for the declaration of war; but the effects of that declaration cannot take place till after the said declaration is made public; and it would be unjust to make individuals sustain a loss, who are totally ignorant of the facts and circumstances of a latent hostility in a corner of the world which has occasioned a general war between the two nations.

This argument is deemed unanswerable in France; and it is on this footing that the king challenges the right of nations, to the end that some expedient may be agreed upon in the future treaty as a recompense for the captures made upon his subjects previous to the declaration of war, without entering into any discussion about reprisals, which should be forgotten when the two Courts draw near to an agreement. France consults nothing but the interest of the individuals who have been sufferers, and does not pretend to include the King's ships taken before the declaration in the settlement of the captures, as the loss of the King's ships may be considered as a consequence of the motives of the war.

ART. XIII. Though, during the course of the present war, the article of former treaties which guaranty the succession to the throne of Great Britain, according to the present establishment, has not been infringed, nevertheless the King is well disposed to comprize that guaranty in the future treaty, if the King of England desires it.

ART. XIV. The prisoners made on each side, as well by sea as land, shall be set at liberty, and sent home without ransom, immediately on the ratification of the peace.

His Britannic Majesty will readily perceive, that these articles are not drawn in the form of a treaty; they are only offered to him as articles explained in their full extent, which elucidate the sentiments of France, and put the two crowns in a condition to treat upon certain and distinct objects.

The private Memorial of France, of 15th July, 1761, relating to Spain.

AS it is essential, and agreeable to the desire of France and England, that the projected Treaty of Peace should serve as a basis for a solid reconciliation

ciliation between the two Crowns, which may not be liable to be interrupted by the interests of a third Power, and the engagements which either one or the other may have entered into previous to their reconciliation, he proposes that the King of Spain shall be invited to guaranty the future Treaty of Peace between his Majesty and the King of Great Britain. This Guaranty will obviate all present and future inconveniences with regard to the solidity of the Peace.

The King will not disguise from his Majesty, that the differences of Spain with England fill him with apprehensions, and give him room to fear, that, if they are not adjusted, they will occasion a fresh war in Europe and America. The King of Spain has communicated to his Majesty the three articles which remain to be discussed between his Crown and the Crown of Britain; which are,

1. The restitution of some captures which have been made during the present war upon the Spanish Flag.

2. The privilege for the Spanish nation to fish upon the Banks of Newfoundland.

3. The demolition of the English settlements made upon the Spanish territories in the Bay of Honduras.

These three articles may be easily adjusted agreeable to the equity of the two nations; and the King earnestly wishes, that some accommodations may be thought on, to the satisfaction of the Spanish and English nations, with regard to these articles; but he cannot disguise from England the danger he apprehends, and of which he must necessarily partake, if these objects, which seem nearly to concern his Catholic Majesty, should be the occasion of a War. His Majesty therefore deems it a principal point of consideration in concluding a firm and advantageous Peace, that, at the same time that desirable point shall be concluded between France and England, his Britannic Majesty should terminate his differences with Spain, and agree to invite his Catholic Majesty to guaranty the Treaty which is to reconcile (pray Heaven for ever) his Majesty and the King of England.

As to what remains, his Majesty does not intimate his apprehension in this respect to the Court of London, but with the most sincere and upright intentions to obviate every impediment which may arise hereafter to disturb the union of the French and English nations; and he desires his Britannic Majesty, whom he supposes influenced by the same good wishes, freely to communicate his sentiments on so essential an object.

Mr. Bussy's Note to Mr. Pitt.

SINCE the Memorial of the propositions from France was formed, and at the instant that the courier was ready to set out for London, the King received the consent of the Empress Queen to a separate peace with England, but upon two conditions :

1. To

1. To keep possession of the countries belonging to the King of Prussia.
2. That it shall be stipulated, that the King of Great Britain, neither in his capacity of King or Elector, shall afford any succour, either in troops, or of any kind whatever, to the King of Prussia; and that his Britannic Majesty will undertake that the Hanoverian, Hessian, Brunswickian, and the other Auxiliaries in alliance with Hanover, shall not join the forces of the King of Prussia, in like manner as France shall engage, on her part, not to yield succour of any kind to the Empress Queen, nor her Allies.

Both these conditions appear so natural and equitable in themselves, that his Majesty could not do otherwise than acquiesce in them, and he hopes that the King of Great Britain will be ready to adopt them.

Mr. Pitt's Letter to M. Buffy, 24th July, 1761.

SIR,
HAVING explained myself, in our conference yesterday, with respect to certain engagements of France with Spain, relative to the disputes of the latter crown with Great Britain, of which your Court never informed us, but at the very instant of making, as she has done, her first propositions for the separate peace of the two crowns; and as you have desired, for the sake of greater punctuality, to take a note of what passed between us upon so weighty a subject, I here repeat, Sir, by his Majesty's order, the same declaration, word for word, which I made to you yesterday, and again anticipate you with respect to the most sincere sentiments of friendship and real regard on the part of his Majesty towards the Catholic King, in every particular consistent with reason and justice. It is my duty to declare farther to you in plain terms, in the name of his Majesty, that he will not suffer the disputes with Spain to be blended, in any manner whatever, in the negotiation of peace between the two crowns; to which I must add, that it will be considered as an affront to his Majesty's dignity, and as a thing incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation, to make farther mention of such a circumstance.

Moreover, it is expected that France WILL NOT, at any time, PRESUME a right of intermeddling in such disputes between Great Britain and Spain.

These Considerations, so just and indispenfible, have determined his Majesty to order me to return you the memorial which occasions this, as wholly inadmissible.

I likewise return you, Sir, as totally inadmissible, the memorial relative to the King of Prussia, as implying an attempt upon the honour of Great Britain, and the fidelity with which his Majesty will always fulfil his engagements with his allies.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed, PITT.

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The Answer of the British Court to the Memorial of French Propositions, 29th July, 1763.

HIS Britannic Majesty will never recede from the entire and total cession on the part of France, without any new limits, or any exception whatever, of all Canada and its appurtenances; and his Majesty will never relax, with regard to the full and compleat cession on the Part of France, of the Isle of Cape Breton, and of all the other Islands in the Gulph or in the River of St. Lawrence, with the right of fishing, which is inseparably incident to the possession of the aforesaid Coasts, and of the Canals or Streights which lead to them.

2. With respect to fixing the limits of Louisiana, with regard to Canada, or the English possessions situate on the Ohio, as also on the coast of Virginia, it can never be allowed that whatever does not belong to Canada shall appertain to Louisiana, nor that the boundaries of the last province should extend to Virginia, or to the British possessions on the borders of the Ohio; the nations and countries which lie intermediate, and which form the true barrier between the aforesaid provinces, not being proper, on any account, to be directly or by necessary consequence ceded to France, even admitting them to be included in the limits of Louisiana.

3. Senegal, with all its rights and dependencies upon the river which bears its name, shall be ceded to Great Britain in the most full and ample manner; as also the Island of Gorée, so essentially connected with Senegal.

4. Dunkirk shall be reduced to the condition in which it ought to have been after the treaty of Utrecht, without which no peace can be concluded; and upon that condition only can his Majesty ever consent to enter on the consideration of the demand which France has made, viz. The restitution of the privilege granted by the thirteenth article of the said treaty, with certain limitations and under certain restrictions, for the subjects of France to fish and dry their fish on part of the banks of Newfoundland.

5. Though the titles by which the kingdom of Great Britain has, on many occasions, maintained its right to the Islands of St. Lucia and Tabago, have never yet been refuted; and though his Majesty by force of arms has acquired possession of St. Dominica, and of the French colony established before the commencement of the war; nevertheless his Majesty, from that principle of moderation which is so becoming to kings, will consent to an equal partition of the four islands, commonly called the Neutral Islands, which partition shall be regulated in the ensuing treaty.

6. The island of Minorca shall be immediately restored in the condition it was at the time of its being taken, together with the artillery, &c. appertaining to that island.

7. France

7. France shall immediately restore and evacuate the conquests she has made over his Majesty's Allies in Germany; that is to say, of all the states and countries appertaining to the Langrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswic, and to the Electorate of Hanover, as also of Wesel, and of all the places and territories belonging to the King of Prussia, in possession of the arms of France. In a word, France shall make a general evacuation of all her conquests, on the side of Hesse, Westphalia, and its countries.

8. The King of Great Britain on his part, agrees to surrender to his Most Christian Majesty, 1. The important conquest of Belle-Isle. 2. His Majesty likewise consents to surrender to the Most Christian King the opulent island of Guadaloupe, with that of Marigalante.

9. The treaty concluded between Messrs. Saunders and Godeheu, cannot be admitted as the basis of the re-establishment of the peace in Asia, because that provisional treaty has had no consequences, and because those provisions are by no means applicable to the present state of affairs in the Indies, by the final reduction of the possessions and settlements of the French company in the East Indies; but as the perfect and final settlement with regard to that country, can only be made in conformity to certain rights absolutely appertaining to the English company, and as the King cannot justly dispose of their rights without their consent, it must necessarily be left to the companies of the two nations to adjust the terms of accommodation and reconciliation, according to those rules of reason and justice, which the state and circumstances of their affairs may require, and mutually point out; provided nevertheless that those conditions are not repugnant to the designs and equitable intentions of their Sovereigns, for the peace and reconciliation of the two crowns.

10. The demand of the restitution of the captures at sea before the declaration of war cannot be admitted; such a claim not being founded on any particular convention, and by no means resulting from the law of nations, as there is no principle more contestible than this, viz. that the absolute right of all hostile operations does not result from a formal declaration of war, but from the hostilities which the aggressor has first offered.

11. As the indispensable care which is due from his Majesty to his people, and the just and invincible motives which concern the preservation and security of his kingdoms, authorized by the most formal stipulations of solemn treaties (viz. those of Radstadt and the Barriere) and even by the express and irrevocable conditions of the cession of the Low Countries, will not allow France to retain possession of Ostend and Newport, the two places aforesaid shall be evacuated without delay, by the French garrisons; it is for this reason declared that the restitutions spoken of in the preceding articles of this memorial, and particularly the convention which is to be framed and regulated with respect to the Indies, cannot take place till the aforesaid evacuation of Ostend and Newport shall be faithfully executed.

12. The cessation of arms between the two crowns shall be fixed and take place on the day of the ratification of the preliminaries, or of the definitive treaty,

treaty, and all the articles relative to the cessation of hostilities, shall be settled and take place, according to common usage in such cases, and as the circumstances in different parts of the world shall require.

13. His Majesty having, from the first overtures made on the part of France, declared, that in case the separate peace between the two crowns should be concluded, his Majesty would continue, as an auxiliary, faithfully to assist the King of Prussia, with efficacy and good faith, in order to accomplish the salutary purpose of a general pacification in Germany; it shall be free to Great Britain and France, to support, as auxiliaries, their respective allies, in their particular contests for the recovery of Silesia, pursuant to the respective engagements which those crowns have entered into.

14. The prisoners taken on one side and the other, both by sea and land, shall be released in the usual manner, saving the terms which may exist, by virtue of some cartel or some convention, which may have relation to this particular.

These articles are not digested into the form, nor in the detail of articles of peace; but it is hoped, that, with regard to essential points, this memorial has that precision and perspicuity which leaves nothing doubtful, and which evidently demonstrates the sincerity and perseverance of his Majesty's disposition, with respect to his intentions and resolutions for the accomplishment of so great a blessing as that of an entire peace between the two crowns.

Ultimatum of France, in Reply to that of England, of 5th of August, 1761.

THE King renews the declaration which he made to his Britannic Majesty, to the memorial of propositions for peace, which has been transmitted to M. Stanley, and to which the Court of England has given no answer, either by word of mouth or in writing: his Majesty again declares, that if the negotiation entered into at Paris and at London, for the re-establishment of peace between the two crowns, has not the desired success, all the articles agreed to in that negotiation by France, cannot be represented, on any occasion, as settled points, any more than the memorial of the month of March last, relative to the *Uti possidetis*.

1. The King consents to cede Canada to England in the most extensive manner, as specified in the memorial of propositions; but his Majesty will not recede from the conditions he has annexed to the same memorial relative to the Catholic Religion, and to the power, facility, and liberty of emigration for the ancient subjects of the King. With regard to the fishery in the gulph of St. Laurence, the King means to maintain the immemorial right which his subjects have of fishing in the said gulph, and of drying their fish on the Banks of Newfoundland, as it was agreed by the treaty of Utrecht. As this privilege would be granted in vain, if the French vessels had not some shelter appertaining

appertaining to France in the gulf, his Majesty proposed to the King of Great Britain the restitution of the island of Cape Breton; he again proposes, either that island, or St. John, or such other port, without fortification, in the gulph, or within reach of the gulph, which may serve the French as a shelter, and secure to France the liberty of fishing, from whence his Majesty has no intention to recede.

2. The King has in no part of his memorial of propositions, affirmed, that all which did not belong to Canada, appertained to Louisiana; it is even difficult to conceive such an assertion could be advanced. France, on the contrary, demands that the intermediate nations between Canada and Louisiana, as also between Virginia and Louisiana, shall be considered as neutral nations, independent of the sovereignty of the two crowns, and serve as a barrier between them. If the English Minister would have attended to the instructions of M. Bussy on this subject, he would have seen that France agreed with England as to this proposition.

3. No answer has been given by England to the plain argument, That if Senegal cannot be enjoyed in security without Goree, England will make no great sacrifice, in keeping Goree, and restoring Senegal to France. Upon this article, Mr. Stanley has acquainted the D. de Choiseul, that some expedients may be agreed on between the two crowns: in consequence of which, his Majesty, out of regard to the blessing of peace, has authorised M. Bussy to treat concerning these expedients with the British Ministry.

4. The court of London, when they mean to secure, in pursuance of his Majesty's consent, the conquests they pretend to maintain, readily rely on the memorial of *Uti Possidetis*; but they take no notice of that memorial when they advance claims at the expence of France. It cannot be denied, but that the state of the town of Dunkirk is not included in the *Uti Possidetis*.

According to the treaty of Utrecht, the demolition of Dunkirk was not assented to, as a compensation for the liberty of drying codfish on the Banks of Newfoundland; it is the cession of Newfoundland, on the part of France, which is the ground of that compensation; but the King, to testify to all Europe his sincere desire of peace, and to remove all obstacles which the enemies to peace may throw in the way, authorises his Minister at London to negotiate concerning the state of Dunkirk, so soon as a convenient port shall be agreed upon in the Gulf of St. Laurence, or within reach of the gulf, which shall be ceded to France, to serve as a shelter for her fishing vessels.

5. France has refused the title of England to the Antilles, which are pretended to be neutral: his Majesty, nevertheless, from a principle of moderation, accepts of a partition of the said islands; but such partition cannot take place but in the form specified in the first memorial of the French propositions.

6. It seems as if England, by her propositions, offered the island of Belle-isle as a compensation for the island of Minorca: as France does not allow the importance of the conquest of Belle-isle, the two courts will retain their

several opinions; England shall maintain her conquest, and France shall keep Minorca.

7. France is willing to evacuate, in consideration of the restitution to be made by England of the island of Guadaloupe and of Marigalante, the countries belonging to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Brunswick, and to the Electorate of Hanover, which are or shall be occupied by his Majesty's forces, and of which the conquest is connected with the British war, since the rupture of the capitulation of Closter Seven, and which may be separated from the war of the Empress-Queen with the King of Prussia.

But as to what concerns Wesel, Gueldres, and other countries in Westphalia belonging to the King of Prussia, which are actually in the possession of the Empress-Queen, and where justice is administered in the name of her Imperial Majesty, the King cannot stipulate to surrender the conquests of his allies; and such an evacuation, neither in fact nor by right, can take place without the consent of the Empress-Queen at the Congress at Augsburg; that congress being to assemble, in order to terminate the differences which have arisen in the empire, and particularly those which have occasioned the war between her Imperial Majesty and the King of Prussia.

8. The King accepts of these conditions; and in consideration of the cessions made by France, in North America and Africa, as well as in regard to the settlement of Dunkirk, the restitution of the island of Guadaloupe and of Marigalante.

9. The French East India Company have fulfilled the conditions of the treaty made between Messrs. Godeheu and Saunders: that of England has not observed the same punctuality. However that may be, the King is willing to acquiesce in the 9th Article of the *Ultimatum* of England, in relation to Asia.

10. The King persists, with regard to the captures made before the war, in the contents of the 12th Article of the first propositions. M. Bussy is authorised to deliver a memorial expressly on this subject; and every one is persuaded in France, that this object neither can nor ought to break off the negotiation between the two crowns.

11. The Empress-Queen enjoys full sovereignty in the towns of Ostend and Newport; the King has only lent his forces to his ally, to secure those places. England has no right to impose laws upon the King and the Empress, contrary to the will of the King and her Imperial Majesty, who do not in the least violate the treaties of the House of Austria with the States General. As to what remains, his Majesty readily declares, that his intention never was to keep possession of the said places after the establishment of peace.

12. The 12th Article of the *Ultimatum* of England does not seem liable to any difficulties, while the terms of the intended suspension shall be observed and maintained with sincerity.

13. In answer to the declaration made by Mr. Stanley, that in case of a separate peace between France and England, his Britannic Majesty would constantly

constantly continue, in the capacity of an auxiliary, to aid his ally, the King of Prussia, with all his power, and with the utmost integrity, in order to accomplish the happy issue of the war, and the pacification of Germany, the D. de Choiseul, in the name of the King, his master, has declared to Mr. Stanley, that his Majesty, with the same view to the general pacification, will also support his faithful allies with all his forces, and to the utmost of his power, and will take every precaution which his approved sincerity and integrity shall suggest to him, in order to prevent the separate peace of France with England from being prejudicial to them.

It is in consequence of these sentiments, that the King, with the consent of his allies, is willing to stipulate, that he will grant no succour of any kind to his allies for the continuance of their war against the King of Prussia; but his Majesty neither can nor will enter into such an engagement, unless his Britannic Majesty will enter into the like agreement with respect to the King of Prussia.

The proposition of leaving France at liberty to send forces into Silesia, is unfavourable, from particular circumstances, to the interests of the Empress, and consequently inadmissible.

The King, therefore, persists in the propositions contained in the 10th article of his first memorial. All that can be negotiated with respect to these points, must be the liberty of affording succours in money to the respective allies, so soon as it shall be positively ascertained, that no power shall be at liberty to furnish them any supplies of men, or warlike stores, under any denomination whatever.

14. The King accepts the 14th Article of the *Ultimatum* of England.

It is hoped that the court of Great Britain will allow the precision of the answers to their *Ultimatum*, as well as the readiness with which the King endeavours, even to his prejudice, to use all means to bring about a reconciliation with the King of Great Britain.

When M. Buffy presented this *Ultimatum*, he accompanied it with the following Letter, in answer to that of Mr. Pitt, of the 24th of July.

Mr. Buffy's Letter to Mr. Pitt, 5th August, 1761.

SIR,

I HAVE acquainted my court with the letter of the 24th of last month, with which your Excellency honoured me, on returning the memorial I laid before you, in relation to the interests of the court of Spain with respect to England, and the note which I thought it my duty to communicate, with regard to the intention of the King my master, concerning the necessary steps to put a stop to the hostilities in Germany.

The King, Sir, orders me to acquaint your Excellency, that as to what relates to the interest of the Catholic King, his Majesty's precaution, expressed

in the memorial which I remitted to you, is in consequence of that sincerity which he professes constantly to adopt in the course of all his negotiations. The memorial which your Excellency has returned me, neither contains any menaces, nor any offer of mediation. No other sentiment can be inferred from it, than that of the sincere desire which his Majesty entertains, that the projected peace between France and England may be firm and durable. Moreover, the King refers himself to his Catholic Majesty concerning the manner in which this memorial was received and remitted; but his Majesty has charged me to declare to your Excellency, that so long as Spain shall approve of it, his Majesty will interfere with the interests of that crown, without desisting on account of a repulse from the power who opposes his good offices.

With respect to the matter of the note, likewise returned by your Excellency, and which relates to the two necessary conditions of the proposed expedient for evacuating the countries subdued by his Majesty's arms, his Majesty explains himself fully on that Article in the *Ultimatum*, in answer to that of the court of London. His Majesty has ordered me to declare further to you in writing, that he will rather sacrifice the power which God has given him, than conclude any thing with his enemies, which may be contrary to the engagements he has contracted, and that good faith in which he glories. If England will undertake to yield no succour to the King of Prussia, the King will engage, on the other hand, to afford none to his allies in Germany. But his Majesty will not adopt the liberty of succouring his allies with a supply of men, because he is sensible of the disadvantage which the present situation of the armies might occasion to the Empress-Queen. His Majesty may stipulate not to act for the benefit of his allies, but he neither can nor will consent to any condition which may be detrimental to them.

It remains for me to observe to your Excellency, how greatly my court was astonished, as well at the style of the letter you wrote to me, as at the *Ultimatum* of England. This style, which is so little conformable to the propositions of France, betrays the aversion of the court of London to peace. The King, who is very far from insisting on forms, when the happiness of Europe is at stake, has used every endeavour, in the answer to the *Ultimatum*, which, without injury to the honour of his crown, were judged most effectual to recal the British court to sentiments of pacification; your Excellency will judge, from the *Ultimatum* of France, that I am ordered to acquaint you with what facility the King, forgetting the imperative style, so unfit for negotiation, which England makes use of in her answers, enters into the views of the British court, and endeavours, by the sacrifices he makes, to engage them to adopt the stipulations of a reasonable peace.

If your Excellency is desirous of having a conference with me on the subject of the *Ultimatum*, I will attend your commands, and I shall be very earnest to testify the disposition of my court, to make a happy issue of the negotiation on foot, as also the peculiar regard with which, &c.

Signed, DE BUSSY.

Note

Note delivered by the Count de Fuentes, the Spanish Ambassador in London, to Mr. Pitt.

THE Most Christian King, who wishes to make the peace, concerning which he proposed to treat with England, at once effectual and durable, entrusted his intentions with the King my master, expressing the pleasure with which he embraced that opportunity of acknowledging his sense of the reiterated offers which his Catholic Majesty had made both to Him and England, in order to facilitate a just and lasting reconciliation.

It is from these principles of sincerity, that the Most Christian King proposed to the King my master the guaranty of the treaty of peace, as a measure which might be equally convenient to France and England, and at the same time assured him of his sincere intentions with respect to the sacrifices he proposed to make, in order to restore tranquillity to Europe, by an honourable and lasting peace.

Such a proceeding of his Most Christian Majesty could not but be highly acceptable to the King my master, who found it agreeable to his own sentiments, and to his desire of fulfilling on his part, with the most distinguished conformity, all the connections which unite them both by ties of blood and their mutual interest; and moreover, he perceived in the disposition of the King of France, that magnanimity and humanity which are natural to him, by his endeavours, on his side, to render the peace as permanent as the vicissitudes of human affairs will admit of.

It is with the same candour and sincerity, that the King my master expressed in confidence to the Most Christian King, that he wished his Britannic Majesty had not made a difficulty of settling the guaranty, on account of the grievances of Spain with England, as he has all the reason to conclude that his Britannic Majesty has the same good intentions to terminate them amicably, according to reason and justice.

The confidence which the King my master reposed in France, gave that court room to testify to his Britannic Majesty the sincerity of their intentions for the re-establishment of peace, since, by proposing the guaranty of Spain, they expressed their sincere desire of seeing the interests of Spain settled at the same time, which might one day re-kindle the flames of a new war, which at present they wish to extinguish.

If the intentions of the Most Christian King and the King my master did not seem fraught with sincerity, the King my master flatters himself, that his Britannic Majesty will do him the justice to consider his in that light, since, if they were founded on any other principle, his Catholic Majesty, giving full scope to his greatness, would have spoken from himself, and as became his dignity.

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I must not omit to inform you, that the King my master will learn with surprise, that the memorial of France could raise a sentiment in the breast of his Britannic Majesty, entirely opposite to the intentions of the two sovereigns.

But his Catholic Majesty will always be pleased, whenever he sees that they make that progress which he has ever desired, in the negotiation of peace, whether it be separate between France and England, or general; as his sincere wishes are to make it perpetual, by obviating every source which might hereafter unhappily renew the war.

For this reason, the King my master flatters himself, that his Britannic Majesty, animated with the same sentiments of humanity towards the public tranquillity, will express the same intentions of terminating the disputes of England with a power which has afforded such reiterated proofs of her friendship, at the same time that it is proposed to restore peace to all Europe in general.

Memorial concerning the Vessels taken before the War.

THE reclaim of the captures made by the English before the declaration of war, is founded on the treaties of Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle.

It is not necessary to contest the principle, that the right of exercising hostilities does not always result from the formality of a declaration of war; but as it is impracticable for two princes, who make war on each other, to agree between them which is the aggressor with regard to the other, equity and humanity have dictated these precautions, that where an unforeseen rupture happens suddenly, and without any previous declaration, foreign vessels, which, navigating under the security of peace and of treaties, happen at the time of the rupture to be in either of the respective ports, shall have time and full liberty to withdraw themselves.

This wise provision, so agreeable to the rules of good faith, constitutes a part of the law of nations, and the article of the treaty which sanctifies these precautions ought to be faithfully executed, notwithstanding the breach of the other articles of the treaty, which is the natural consequence of the war.

The courts of France and Great Britain used this salutary precaution in the treaties of Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle; in the first, by the nineteenth article of the treaty of peace, and in the second of the treaty of commerce: in the second, by the third article, which renews and confirms the first.

If these treaties allow a protection to the respective subjects who may have ships in the ports of either of the powers, because, having no opportunity of knowing that a rupture has fallen out, they sailed under the security of peace, and under the faith of treaties; by a parity of reason, all the other subjects who are not inhabitants of the respective ports, who have ships at sea, should enjoy the same security for their vessels, in whatever part of the sea they should be sailing, otherwise it would follow, that the sovereigns provide for the pre-
servation

servation of one part of their subjects from the miseries of a sudden rupture, to which they expose the rest, which is absolutely repugnant to the humanity of sovereigns, and contrary to right reason.

It is upon this principle, that the King of France restored to England the English vessels which were found in the ports of France, at the time of the rupture, or taken at sea before the declaration of war.

If his Majesty had not caused those vessels to be restored, his Britannic Majesty might have alledged, that he retained the French vessels by way of reprisals; but the punctuality of France in conforming to the treaties of Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle, and to the principles resulting from thence, give England no pretence for refusing to fulfil engagements which are reciprocal.

The court of France, therefore, does not doubt but that the court of England will agree to order the restitution of the ships taken by the English from the French, before the declaration of the war.

Mr. Pitt's last Letter to M. Bussy, dated the 15th of August, 1761.

S I R,

I MADE the King my master acquainted with the memorial, which, by order of his most Christian Majesty, you accompanied the *Ultimatum* of the court of France: his Majesty perceives from these two pieces, with that regret with which the love of peace inspires him, that the happy moment to put an end to so many miseries is not yet come.

As to what relates to the style of the *Ultimatum* of England, in answer to the memorial of propositions from France, as likewise of the letter which I addressed to you by his Majesty's order, upon returning the two papers relative to Spain and the King of Prussia, as totally inadmissible, the King orders me to acquaint you, Sir, that his Majesty adheres both to the form and substance of those two pieces, in which his dignity concurred with his justice and good faith, leaving all the world to judge which of the two courts have shewn an aversion to peace during the course of that negotiation; whether it be that court, which, from a principle of candour, not by way of assuming an imperative tone, has always endeavoured to give open answers, in order to shorten delays, by obviating misunderstandings, and to avoid the reproach of having acted delusively even with an enemy; who, in the conditions of peace, so far from making an ill use of her prosperity, has not even insisted on all those rights which the *Uti possidetis*, and the memorial of France of the 26th March, gave her; who, moreover, proposes, that after the conclusion of peace between the two crowns they shall respectively be at liberty, with regard to the contest concerning Silesia, to fulfil the engagements they have contracted with their allies; it belongs, therefore, Sir, to Europe, to judge whether this is the court which has shewn an aversion to peace, or whether it is not that, which, after so many variations and delays on her part, arbitrarily continues to insist

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on objects in America which we have a right to by the *Uti possidetis*, and which would make a direct attempt on the essential rights of our conquests in Canada and its appurtenances, in the Gulph of St. Laurence; which, in Germany, not only refuses to give up her conquests, gained over his Majesty's allies, as a just compensation for the important restitutions with which his Majesty is willing to accommodate France, but even pretends to impose an obligation on his Majesty not to fulfil the engagements of his crown towards the King of Prussia; which, moreover, not satisfied with throwing so many insuperable obstacles in the way to peace, has not scrupled to interpose new perplexities in opposition to this precious blessing for which the nations sigh, by intermixing, too late, matters so foreign to the present negotiation between the two crowns, as are the discussions between Great Britain and Spain.

Such, Sir, being the conduct of the two courts, the King perceives with regret, that the peace so much desired is far distant, and that at this very moment the court of France is willing to intrust it to the uncertain fate of farther events.

If this is the intention of France, his Majesty relies on the same Providence which has hitherto blessed his arms, and the sincerity of his intentions towards peace; and hopes, that the course of events, accomplishing what his Majesty's moderation has in vain attempted, will recal the court of France to a more favourable disposition.

Nevertheless, Sir, although I am not at liberty to confer with you concerning the *Ultimatum* of your court separately, yet if you desire, Sir, that we should have a conference on the two *Ultimatums* of our courts together, I will be at your command when you think proper, that I may have the honour to learn what you have to communicate to me with respect to the intentions of your court.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed, W. PITT.

Mr. Bussy's Answer to Mr. Pitt, dated the 16th of August, 1761.

SIR,

I RECEIVED the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 15th of this month. I will not undertake to discuss the principal object of it, without submitting it to my court, whether it is proper to make a reply, and what that reply should be. I will confine myself, Sir, to assure you, that I accept, with pleasure, the offer your Excellency makes me, of a conference on the subject of the two *Ultimatums* of our courts; as you are out of town, and as I would not trespass on the moments you devote to the establishment of your health, I refer myself to you entirely to appoint the day and hour when I may come to confer with you.

Nothing

Nothing can be more true than the assurance I make to you of the respectful attachment with which you have inspired me, and with which I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed, DE BUSSY.

The Answer of the British Minister to the Ultimatum of France, delivered to M. Bussy, on the 16th of August, 1761.

THE Most Christian King having repeatedly declared, in the *Ultimatum* of the court of France, remitted to Mr. Pitt by M. Bussy, as well as in the memorial of the propositions of peace, which was remitted by the Duke de Choiseul to Mr. Stanley, that if the negotiation entered upon between the two crowns, has not the desired effect, all the articles conceded in that negotiation by France, cannot be considered in any case as points agreed upon, any more than the memorial of the month of March last, in relation to the *Uti possidetis*; the King declares, in return, that if the concessions his Majesty has made to bring about peace, should not be accepted by his most Christian Majesty, the important restitutions offered to France, as well as the other circumstances herein after expressed, cannot for the future be considered as given up.

ARTICLE I. The King will not desert his claim to the entire and total cession of all Canada and its dependencies, without any new limits or exceptions whatever; and likewise insists on the complete cession of the island of Cape Breton, and of the other islands in the gulf and river of St. Laurence.

Canada, according to the lines of its limits, traced by the Marquis de Vaudreuil himself, when that governor surrendered the said province by capitulation to the British General Sir J. Amherst, comprehends on one side the lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superieur; and the said line drawn to the Red Lake, takes in, by a serpentine progress, the river Ouabachi, as far as its junction with the Ohio, and from thence extends itself along the latter river as far inclusively as its influx into the Mississippi.

It is in conformity to this state of the limits made by the French Governor, that the King claims the cession of Canada, a province which the court of France moreover has offered anew by their *Ultimatum* to cede to his Britannic Majesty, in the most extensive manner, as expressed in the memorial of propositions of peace, of 13th July.

As to what concerns the public profession and exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in Canada, the new subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall be maintained in that privilege without interruption or molestation; and the French inhabitants, or others, who may have been subjects of the most Christian King in Canada, shall have full liberty and power to sell their effects, provided they dispose of them to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and to transport

their property, as well as their persons, without being restrained from their migration under any pretence whatever; (unless in case of debt, or for the breach of criminal laws;) it being always understood, that the time granted for the said emigration shall be limited to the space of one year, to be computed from the day of the ratification of the definitive treaty.

ART. II. As to what respects the line to be drawn from Rio-Perdido, as contained in the note remitted by M. Buffy of the 18th of this month, with regard to the limits of Louisiana, his Majesty is obliged to reject so unexpected a proposition, as by no means admissible in two respects.

1. Because the said line, under colour of fixing the limits of Louisiana, annexes vast countries to that province, which, with the commanding posts and forts, the Marquis de Vandreuil has, by the most solemn capitulation, incontestibly yielded into the possession of his Britannic Majesty, under the description of Canada, and that consequently, however contentious the pretensions of the two crowns may have been before the war, and particularly with respect to the course of the Ohio, and the territories in that part, since the surrender of Canada, and the line of its limits has been traced, as aforesaid, by the Marquis de Vandreuil, all those opposite titles are united, and become valid without contradiction, to confirm to Great Britain, with all the rest of Canada, the possession of those countries on that part of the Ohio which have been heretofore contested.

2. The line proposed to fix the bounds of Louisiana cannot be admitted, because it would comprise in another part, on the side of the Carolinas, very extensive countries and numerous nations, who have always been reputed to be under the protection of the King; a right which his Majesty has no intention of renouncing; and then the King, for the advantage of peace, might consent to leave the intermediate countries under the protection of Great Britain, and particularly the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Chicafaws, the Chactaws, and another nation, situate between the British settlements and the Mississippi.

ART. III. The King refers to the third article of the *Ultimatum* of England, concerning the cession of Senegal and its dependencies, as well as the island of Goree, in the most ample manner, as expressed in the said article; and his Majesty renews the declaration which has been made by Mr. Stanley, that if the court of France would suggest any reasonable expedient to provide themselves with negroes, which may not be too detrimental to the interests of the British subjects in Africa, he will willingly enter upon a discussion of this subject.

ART. IV. The important privilege granted by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht, under certain limitations and restrictions, to the subjects of France, for fishing and drying their cod-fish on a certain part of the banks of Newfoundland, has not been refused by Great Britain, but connected with a reciprocal satisfaction on the part of France, with regard to the indispensable object of Dunkirk, which the King has required, and still requires: it is, therefore, on condition that the town and port of Dunkirk shall be put in the condition.

condition it ought to have been in by the last treaty of Aix la Chapelle, that his Majesty consents to renew to France the privilege of fishing and of drying their fish by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht, upon the aforesaid district of Newfoundland.

As to the demand which his most Christian Majesty has farther made, that his subjects may fish in the gulf of St. Laurence, as also to have a port there *without fortifications*, and subject to the inspection of England, as proposed on the part of the D. de Choiseul, in his conferences with Mr. Stanley on that head, which port should merely serve as a shelter to the fishing boats of the French nation which shall land there; the King, to manifest to his most Christian Majesty, and to the whole world, the sincerity of his intentions with regard to peace, will consent,

1. To grant the French subjects the privilege of fishing in the gulf of St. Laurence, upon this express condition, that is to say, That the said French subjects shall abstain from that particular fishery on all the coasts appertaining to Great Britain, whether on the continent or on the islands situated in the said gulf of St. Laurence, which fishery the proprietors only of the said coasts have constantly enjoyed and always exercised; saving always the privilege granted by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht, to the subjects of France, to fish and dry their codfish on a part specified on the banks of Newfoundland, which privilege is proposed to be renewed to France as aforesaid.

2. The King will consent to cede to his Majesty the isle of St. Pierre with its ports, which isle, with respect to that part of Newfoundland situate between the bay of Placentia and the bay of La Fortune, stands east south east, and its port opens to the north east, the interior part of which port is called *Bourgway*; the island of St. Pierre, which the King is willing to cede, is divided by a little streight from another island known by the name of *Maquelon*, or of *Michelon*, which lies to the north of the said isle of St. Pierre.

To the cession of the said isle, as above mentioned, his Majesty annexes four indispensable conditions.

1. That France, on no pretence, nor under any denomination whatever, shall erect any fortifications, either in the said isle, or in its port, and that she shall not keep any troops there, nor maintain any military establishment whatever.

2. That the said isle and the said port shall only serve as a shelter to the fishing vessels of the French nation, and that France shall not suffer the vessels of any other nation whatever to partake of the convenience of this shelter for the fishing boats.

3. That the possession of the isle of St. Pierre as aforesaid, shall not be constituted in any case to confer, transmit, or participate in any matter whatever the least right or power of fishing or of drying cod-fish in any part of the coast of Newfoundland, beyond the district expressly stipulated and fixed for that purpose by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht, that is to say, *a Loco Cap Bonavista nuncupato, usque ad extremitatem ejusdem Insule*

septentrionalem, indeque ad Latus occidentale recurrendo usque ad Lacum Pointriche appellatum.

4. That in virtue of the cession of the said island as aforesaid, an English commissary shall be allowed to reside there, and the commander of the British squadron at Newfoundland shall be at liberty from time to time to inspect the said isle and the said port, to see that the stipulations above expressed are punctually observed.

ART. V. The proposition of an alternative suggested by the court of France, in relation to the isles of Tobago, St. Lucia, Dominica, and St. Vincent, commonly called neutral islands, is by no means admissible. The King, however, from a principle of moderation, continues his inclination to agree to an equal partition of the said four islands, to be ascertained in the future treaty between the two crowns.

ART. VI. The King consents to restore to his most Christian Majesty,
1. The important conquest of Belle-Isle, with the artillery, &c. which was therein at the time of taking the said island.

2. His Majesty likewise agrees to restore to the most Christian King the fertile and wealthy island of Guadaloupe, with that of Marigalante, with the artillery, &c. which was therein at the time of taking the said islands.

ART. VII. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannic Majesty, as likewise Fort St. Philip, in the condition it stood, and with the artillery therein, &c. at the time of taking the said island and fort.

ART. VIII. As to what regards the restitution and evacuation of the conquests made by France over the King's allies in Germany, and particularly of Wesel and the other territories of the King of Prussia, his Majesty persists in his demand relative to that subject in the 7th article of the *Ultimatum* of England; it being always understood, that all the places belonging to his Majesty's allies in Germany shall be restored, with the artillery, &c. found in them at the time of taking the said places.

ART. IX. With regard to the succour to be afforded to the King of Prussia on the part of the British crown, as an auxiliary, after the conclusion of the separate peace between Great Britain and France, his Majesty remains in the same inflexible resolution which he declared at the first overture of the present negotiation, that he never will desist from giving constant succour to the King of Prussia, as an auxiliary, *with efficacy and good faith*, in order to attain the salutary end of a general pacification in Germany. With this view, his Majesty, far from proposing to leave France at liberty to send armies into Silesia, *without being limited to the number stipulated in her actual engagements with the court of Vienna*, (a circumstance not to be found in any part of the *Ultimatum* of England) has uniformly declared, as the thirteenth article of the said *Ultimatum* professes, that Great Britain and France shall be at liberty to support their respective allies and auxiliaries, in their particular contest for the recovery of Silesia, according to the engagements entered into by each crown.

The

The King declares at the same time, that his Majesty has neither the intention nor the authority to take upon him to inhibit and forbid any foreign troops from entering into the service and pay of the King of Prussia, however his Majesty might be inclined to consent not to furnish, but by means of subsidy, those supplies which Great Britain shall judge convenient to grant his Prussian Majesty, in pursuance of her engagements.

ART. X. With regard to the captures made after the commencement of hostilities, and before the declaration of war, the King continues of opinion, that such a demand on the part of France is neither just nor maintainable, according to the most incontestible principle of the rights of war and of nations.

ART. XI. Concerning the evacuations of Ostend and Nieuport, the King cannot but refer to the most express and irrevocable stipulation of the most solemn treaties expressed in the 11th article of the *Ultimatum* of Great Britain, as also to his declaration relative to that subject: and his Majesty relies on the sincerity of the declaration on the part of France; that is to say, that *the intention of his Most Christian Majesty never was to keep possession of the aforesaid places after the return of peace.*

ART. XII. In regard to the cessation of hostilities, the King persists, in every respect, in the same intentions, declared in the 12th article of the British *Ultimatum*.

ART. XIII. As to what concerns the French East India Company, he can only refer to the 9th article of the *Ultimatum* of England, with regard to which no disagreement seems to subsist.

ART. XIV. As to the prisoners of war, the two Courts seem to agree perfectly on that head.

The Court of France cannot but perceive from this answer, the sincerity of his Majesty's intentions, as well as the moderation which directs his Majesty towards the means of reconciliation with the Most Christian King.

Signed, H. STANLEY.

The last Memorial of France to England, delivered to Mr. Pitt, by M. Bussy on the 13th of September 1761.

THE King accepts the declaration of the King of England contained in the preamble of the answer, and renews that which he before made to his Majesty on this head, in such manner that it is concluded between the two Courts finally and without ambiguity, that if peace is not the result of the present negotiation, all that has been said, written and negotiated between the two crowns, since the Memorial of the 26th of March inclusive, to the moment of the rupture, shall be void and of no effect, and shall not be brought as an argument in favour of either of the parties, in any future negotiation of peace.

ART

ART. I. The King has declared in his first memorial, and in his *Ultimatum*, that he will cede and guaranty to England, the possession of Canada, in the most ample manner; his Majesty persists in that offer, and without discussing the line of its limits marked in a map presented by Mr. Stanley; as that line, on which England rests its demand, is without doubt the most extensive bound which can be given to the cession, the King is willing to grant it.

His Majesty had annexed four conditions to his guaranty: it seems that England agrees to them; the King only conceives that the term of one year for the sale of the French effects and for the emigration is too short, and his Majesty desires that it may be agreed to extend the term of one year to eighteen months at least.

As the Court of England has added, to the first article of their answer to the entire and total cession of Canada, as agreed between the two Courts, the word *Dependencies*, it is necessary to give a specific explanation of this word, that the cession might not in the end occasion difficulties between the two courts with regard to the meaning of the word dependencies.

ART. II. The first paragraph, with respect to the limits of Louisiana, contained in the second article of the answer from England, is agreed to by France. The second paragraph is neither just nor explicit, and it is finally proposed to express it in the following terms:

The intermediate savage nations between the lakes and the Mississippi, and within the line traced out, shall be neuter and independent, under the protection of the King, and those without the line, on the side of the English, shall be likewise neuter and independent, under the protection of the King of England. The English traders also shall be prohibited from going among the savage nations beyond the line on either side; but the said nations shall not be restrained in their freedom of commerce with the French and English, as they have exercised it heretofore.

ART. III. Although France is sensible how opposite it is to principles of conciliation, that the party which cedes should propose to the party who has conquered, and would maintain the cession of possessions which are not perfectly known; though there is no doubt but that the manner which England requires is liable to innumerable difficulties, nevertheless, the King, to testify his acquiescence in every expedient which may conciliate the two crowns, is willing to declare to England, that he will guaranty the possession of Senegal and Goree to that crown, provided England, on her part, will guaranty the possession of the settlements of Anamaboo and Akra, on the coast of Africa.

ART. IV. The fourth article of the answer includes variety of objects, each of which requires a particular explanation.

England always endeavours to connect the liberty of fishing and drying the fish on part of the coast of Newfoundland, granted by the fifteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, with the ninth article of the same treaty, which stipulates the demolition of Dunkirk: it is given in answer to England for the fourth and last time, that those two stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht have nothing in common between them, unless that they are both comprised in the said treaty;

treaty; and that the concession expressed in favour of the French in the thirteenth article of that treaty, is a compensation for the cession of Newfoundland and Annapolis Royal, made on the part of France to England by the twelfth and thirteenth articles of the same treaty.

But to the end that the two courts may clearly understand each other on this head, and for the furtherance of peace, the King agrees to demolish the works which have been made for the defence of the port of Dunkirk since the beginning of this war, to fill up the basin which contains the ships of war, and to destroy the buildings belonging to the ropery: but at the same time, his Majesty will leave the trading port, which will not receive a frigate, subsisting for the good of England, as well as for the benefit of France. She will also undertake not to suffer any maritime military establishment in that port; but the cunette shall be left standing round the place for the salubrity of the air, and the health of the inhabitants.

As to the fishery and the drying of fish on the banks of Newfoundland, the King requires that the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht be confirmed by the present treaty.

Concerning the condition proposed by England, with respect to the liberty of fishing in the gulf of St. Laurence, France agrees, that beyond the port of Newfoundland, specified by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, the French (unless in case of accidents) cannot land on the coasts appertaining to the English in the gulf of St. Laurence, whether to dry their fish, or to spread their nets on the said coasts; but without these two exceptions, the French shall be at liberty to fish, without molestation, in all parts of the said gulf of St. Laurence.

With respect to the cession of the island of St. Pierre, the smallness of that island, and its situation near Plaisance, make the King of opinion that such a shelter will be illusory, and will rather serve to breed contests between the two nations, than to procure the accommodations for the fishery of the French subjects.

The King had required the island of Cape Breton, or the island of St. John; his Majesty had even restrained himself to the little island of Conceau, and now makes the same proposition to his Britannic Majesty; or if the King of England, for reasons unknown to France, cannot agree to the cession of the isle of Conceau, it is proposed to add to the cession of St. Pierre, the islands of *Maquelon* or *Michelon*, two islands, of which one, which is St. Pierre, is but three leagues wide, and Michelon but two. However inconsiderable these two settlements may be, which do not properly make one, the King will accept of them, and will even oblige himself, 1. That neither in one or the other island, or in that of Conceau, if England cedes the latter, there shall be any military establishment; France will only maintain a guard of fifty men to enforce the police, which it will be necessary to maintain in those islands.

2. As far as possible, considering the weak guard of the police, the King will prevent all foreign vessels, even English, from landing at those islands.

3. France

3. France does not pretend to fish and dry their fish on the coast of Newfoundland, but in pursuance of the stipulation of the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, provided it be understood that the French may fish and dry their fish on the coasts of St. Pierre and Michelon.

4. Lastly, the King allows, that an English commissary shall be resident in the said island, to be witness to the punctuality with which the stipulated condition of the treaty shall be observed.

ART. V. The partition of the four neutral islands must be specified between the two courts in the preliminaries; France accepts the partition of those islands proposed by England, provided that St. Lucia be declared to make part of the partition to be regulated in favour of France.

ART. VI. The King, without entering into any discussion of the sixth article, agrees to this article as well as to the seventh.

ART. VIII. The King, with regard to the eighth article, refers to the seventh article of his *Ultimatum*. It is not in his Majesty's power to evacuate countries which appertain to his ally, the Empress-Queen.

ART. IX. The ninth article of the answer of England requires some explanation, for it is worded in such a manner as not to convey any precise meaning; it supposes respective engagements on the part of the King towards the Empress, and on the part of England towards the King of Prussia, to which the two courts are strangers. France does not suppose that the King of England can hinder the allies of his crown, such as the sovereigns of Hanover, Cassel, and Brunswick, from joining their forces with those of the King of Prussia; but without entering into a needless discussion, the King is resolved, for the sake of peace, to make the most important sacrifices, and at the same time unalterably determined, to grant nothing in the future treaty of peace, which may be contrary to the stipulations he has entered into with his allies. It is with their consent, and with mutual concert, that the King proposes to England, in relation to the war in Westphalia, the tenth article of the memorial of his Majesty's propositions, and the seventh and thirteenth articles of the French *Ultimatum*. The King abides by these articles, in answer to the eighth and ninth articles of the answer of England; not refusing, nevertheless, to treat of any fresh propositions which England may make on these heads, which shall be communicated to his Majesty's allies, and to which his Majesty will listen, with the consent of the Empress, if they are not contrary to his Majesty's engagements with that princess.

ART. X. France is of opinion, that her proposition in relation to the captures in which the King's subjects are interested, are so just, that she abides by them, and refers to the twelfth article of his propositions on that head.

ART. XI. The King, after signing of the treaty, even of the preliminaries, will give a declaration under his hand, to the King of England, by which his Majesty will declare, that his intention never was to bring the towns of Ostend and Nieuport, under his dominion.

ART.

ART. XII. Provided that the terms of the cessation of hostilities may not be prejudicial to either crown, France will agree to them.

ART. XIII. France adopts the negotiation between the India Companies of the two nations, on condition, that the negotiation shall be concluded at the same time with that between the two crowns, and to that effect, each company shall enter upon their negotiation without delay, and shall name commissaries for that purpose.

ART. XIV. This article will meet with no difficulty.

The court of England will do justice to the considerable accommodations which the court of France has testified in this memorial, towards a reconciliation between the two crowns.

Mr. Stanley's Letter to the Duke de Choiseul, of the 20th September, 1761.

S I R,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency, pursuant to the orders I received yesterday from my court, that as the court of France has not agreed to accept the propositions contained in the last answer from the British court, the King my master has ordered me to request a passport of you, to return to England; my court expects also, that M. Buffy will, on his part, receive the same orders.

As the state of war has no influence over the personal sentiments of the King of England, with regard to their Most Christian Majesties, he is persuaded that they will take part in the event of his marriage, and I have letters in my hands, by which he communicates that happy event to their Majesties. I have the honour to send your Excellency the copies; and I take the liberty, Sir, to consult your better intelligence, to inform myself of the most suitable manner of remitting these letters, in pursuance of my credentials, and according to the established custom of your court.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed, H. STANLEY.

The Duke de Choiseul's Answer to Mr. Stanley, the 20th September, 1761.

S I R,

THE King has ordered me, Sir, to expedite the passports which are necessary for your return to England: you will find them annexed. M. Buffy had orders to demand an eclaircissement with respect to the last answer from England, and to return to France, if those eclaircissements were not favourable. They have certainly been otherwise, since your court has anticipated his return by your recal. However it be, Sir, his Majesty hopes that some more happy

opportunity will produce more effectual inclinations to peace, and he has charged me to observe to you, that you may assure the King of England, that he will always find him disposed to renew the negotiation, and to consent to equitable conditions, which may establish a firm union between the two crowns.

The King most sincerely takes part in the marriage of the King of England; if you will send me the letters from his British Majesty, I will remit them to their Majesties.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Signed, Le Duc de CHOISEUL.

Extracts from the PAPERS relative to the Rupture with Spain, laid before both Houses of Parliament.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Secretary Pitt * to the Earl of Bristol, dated Whitehall, 28th July, 1761.*

WITH regard to the strange idea of the proposed guaranty of Spain, mentioned in Mr. Stanley's dispatches, as also with respect to the *engagements with Spain*, concerning our disputes with that crown, which *the Duc de Choiseul now avows to have been taken before the first overtures of France †*, for the particular peace with England, and which consequently had been from that time as disingenuously suppressed as they were in the moment insolently produced; the King's servants were unanimously of opinion to reject the thought of suffering those disputes to be mixed in the negotiation with France; and submitted to his Majesty, that a peremptory declaration, to that effect, should be made to M. de Buffi, giving that Minister withal clearly to understand, that it would be considered here as offensive to the dignity of the King, that farther mention should be made of such an idea, and that it is likewise understood here, that France at no time has a right to meddle in such discussions between Great Britain and Spain.

* This is the only extract of all Mr. Pitt's letters on the affairs of Spain that was laid before Parliament.

† These words have reference to another paper, which was not produced, but the words *engagements with Spain*, clearly point to the Family Compact, which about this time was settled between the courts of Madrid and Versailles.

I am now to acquaint your Excellency, that M. de Buffy did not come to me till last Thursday morning, when, after delivering to me the same memorial which Mr. Stanley had received from the Duc de Choiseul, and transmitted to me, he also gave me two supplemental memorials of a most extraordinary nature, copies whereof I send your Excellency inclosed, together with a copy of my letter to that minister, returning the two said memorials, as totally inadmissible.

With regard to the memorial relative to the disputes between England and Spain, that piece will best speak its own enormity, and the extreme offensiveness of the matter which it contains; at the same time my letter, by order of the King, to M. de Buffy, sending back the said memorial, will sufficiently convey to your Excellency the just sensations which such a paper has excited here in the breast of every one to whom it was imparted.

It is the King's pleasure, therefore, that your Excellency should immediately communicate to M. Wall the above-mentioned memorial, together with my letter to M. de Buffy returning the same: and in case the Spanish Minister shall avow, that this strange piece has really been authorised by the court of Madrid, your Excellency will remonstrate, with energy and firmness, the unexampled irregularity of such a proceeding on the part of Spain, not only still in amity with Great Britain (though discussions of difficulty unluckily engage the two courts), but whose intercourse has hitherto professed itself to be friendly, and whose declared aims have all along seemed to point to an amicable adjustment of the long subsisting disputes relating to the coasts of Honduras, &c. by some equitable regulation of the enjoyment of the privilege of cutting logwood by the subjects of Great Britain. You will farther express, with the utmost seriousness, to M. Wall, that nothing can equal the King's surprise and regret at a transaction so unprecedented, except his Majesty's steady purpose, and immoveable determination, not to be diverted, by any considerations, from that even tenor of conduct towards Spain, which his just and constant care of his people dictates, and which his royal wisdom and magnanimity have hitherto pursued.

On the one hand, then, his Majesty will by no means add facilities for the satisfaction of that court, in consideration of any intimation, on the part of a hostile power, of union of councils, or of present or future conjunctions; nor, on the other hand, will his Majesty's equity and moderation cease to dispose his royal mind to the same reasonable terms of accommodation with Spain, with regard to such objects, and in such manner, as the King, excited by inclination, and determined by system, has, *through the course of this negotiation*, invariably declared himself ready to embrace.

As to the three points mentioned in this memorial; First, 'Concerning the restitution of prizes made against the flag of Spain, or supposed to have been taken in violation of the territory of that kingdom, it suffices to say, That the courts, here instituted to take cognizance of all matters of such a nature, are always open to the parties who think fit to seek redress in due course of justice;

and it is superfluous to observe, That the ministers of his Most Christian Majesty are not a tribunal to which Great Britain allows an appeal.

Next, as to the stale and inadmissible pretensions of the Biscayans and Guisfuscoyans to fish at Newfoundland, on which important point your Excellency is already so fully instructed, you will again*, on this occasion, let M. Wall clearly understand, That this is a matter held sacred; and that no concession, on the part of his Majesty, so destructive to this true and capital interest of Great Britain, will be yielded to Spain, however abetted and supported: and it is still hoped, that prudence, as well as justice, will induce that court no longer to expect, as the price of an union, which it is at least as much her interest as ours to maintain inviolate, a sacrifice which can never be thought of.

Thirdly, with regard to disputes relative to the logwood coasts, the King will still receive with pleasure, agreeable to his Majesty's repeated declarations to the court of Spain, any just overtures on the part of his Catholic Majesty (provided they be not conveyed through the channel of France, by whose intervention the King will never treat of these disputes), for amicably adjusting the same, and for removing effectually every source of reasonable complaint or dispute on this head, by terminating to mutual satisfaction all things relating thereto, by a candid and equitable regulation.

After the above memorial of France, and the intimation therein, *little short of a declaration of a war in reversion, and that not at a distance*, held out in *terrorem* on the part of France and Spain, M. Wall cannot wonder that your Excellency is ordered by his Majesty, as you hereby are, to desire again, in this conjuncture, a proper explanation with regard to the naval armaments that have been so long preparing in the various ports of Spain: and his Excellency cannot but himself be sensible how strongly the King is called upon, in the order of things, and from the indispensable motives of what he owes to his crown and people, to expect that the court of Madrid will come to some explicit and categorical eclaircissement with regard to the destination of her fleets, as well as with respect to her dispositions to maintain and cultivate friendship and good correspondence with Great Britain: and this measure is become the more highly necessary, as the emissaries and partizans of France here are not a little active in endeavouring to infuse, particularly into people's minds in the city, for purposes too obvious to mention, that a rupture with Spain, in conjunction with France, is approaching.

Although in the course of this instruction to your Excellency, I could not, with such an insolent memorial from France before me, but proceed on the supposition, that, insidious as that court is, she could not dare to commit, in such a manner, the name of his Catholic Majesty, without being authorised thereto: I must not, however, conceal from your Excellency, that it is thought possible here, that the court of France, though not wholly unauthorised, may,

* This word indisputably alludes to the antecedent paper, which the Minister refused to lay before Parliament.

with her usual artifice in negotiation, have put much exaggeration into this matter; and in case, upon entering into remonstrance on this affair, you shall perceive a disposition in M. Wall to explain away and disavow the authorisation of Spain to this offensive transaction of France, and to come to categorical and satisfactory declarations relatively to the final intentions of Spain, your Excellency will, with readiness and your usual address, adapt yourself to so desirable a circumstance, and will open to the court of Madrid as handsome a retreat as may be, in case you perceive from the Spanish Minister, that they sincerely wish to find one, and to remove, by an effectual satisfaction, the unfavourable impressions which this memorial of the court of France has justly and unavoidably made on the mind of his Majesty.

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Bristol to Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated Segovia, August 31, received September 11.

I MUST now acknowledge the receipt of a copy of your letter of the 24th of July to M. de Buffy, together with copies of two memorials presented by that minister, both of which performances you returned back as totally inadmissible.

A few hours after the messenger Ardouin arrived at Segovia, I went to St. Ildephonso, where I passed a considerable time with General Wall; and as I have had four other conferences with his Excellency since the first, I will set down, with the utmost precision in my power, all that has passed between us.

It was unnecessary for me to communicate what related to the negotiations for peace with the court of Versailles, as the Marquis Grimaldi had transmitted copies of that whole transaction; however, from my shewing a readiness to give that mark of his Majesty's confidence in the Spanish ministry, M. Wall told me, the Catholic King was truly sensible of his Majesty's great attention towards Spain, and was convinced the distance of England from hence occasioned this court's not receiving the earliest information from us of what was in agitation.

I then delivered to M. Wall the copy of the memorial relating to Spain, desiring him to read it over, and to acquaint me whether it was word for word such as had been authorised from hence; on returning it to me, his Excellency said, it was *verbatim* what had been sent by order of the Catholic King to Versailles; whereupon I read your letter to M. de Buffy, in which the memorial was returned, saying, It was impossible for me to give a stronger idea of the impression that irregular proceeding had made in England, than by communicating to this court the manner in which such an unexampled overture had been received, looked into, and sent back, by the King's command.

Nothing has been omitted, on my part, to shew what an unparalleled proceeding this was from a King, not only in amity with Great Britain, but
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whose professions (notwithstanding the difficult discussions which had so long and so unhappily subsisted between the two crowns) had been uniformly calculated to convince my court, the only aim of that of Madrid was amicably to adjust our differences concerning the logwood coast.

With relation to the idea of the proposed guaranty of Spain, I desired to know of M. Wall, wherefore a power that had no share in the war was to be invited to guarantee the future peace? And I entered very minutely into the engagements taken by Spain with France, in regard to our disputes with the Catholic King; when I could not help expressing the truest regret to find, not only of how long standing those engagements were, from the Duke of Choiseul's own confession, but also to perceive, they had been so industriously concealed during such a space of time, and to find them now produced in so insolent a manner by our enemies, because (for views too obvious to be mentioned) the French ministry looked upon that period as the most critical moment; yet I persuaded myself the proper reception this transaction had met with at home, would clear all M. de Choiseul's doubts, and blast all his expectations, since he could not fail being at present convinced, no menaces of a union of councils, nor any threats intimating little less than the reverfionary declaration of war from Spain and France (perhaps not far off) could shake, much less intimidate or force England to permit her Spanish disputes either to be blended with our present negotiation with the court of Versailles, or to suffer France, on any occasion, to meddle in our discussions with his Catholic Majesty; and moreover, M. Bussy had been acquainted, in the most explicit terms, that it would hereafter be considered as offensive to the King's dignity, if any further mention was made of such ideas; this, I informed M. Wall, was the energetic language that had been held to the French Minister at London; and that my orders were, to remonstrate with his Excellency on the unprecedented conduct of Spain, in conveying, at such a conjuncture, through such a channel, and in such terms, her sentiments to Great Britain. But I was commanded, whilst I expressed his Majesty's surprise at so unheard of a transaction, equally to make known the King's regret to find the court of Madrid had taken such a step; yet his eminent virtues would not permit even these considerations, or these motives, in any way to divert his unalterable resolution of adhering to the steady purpose and uniform conduct his royal wisdom had hitherto observed toward Spain.

I repeatedly enforced how strong my instructions were to convince this court it was not to be expected or imagined, that the intimations of a hostile prince, or any insinuations of a combination of forces or union of interests between Spain and France, would in the least facilitate the satisfaction which was asked from hence, in relation to our differences in America. But the same magnanimity that dictated to the King these sentiments, prescribed also to his Majesty's equity the following determination, which was the constant language I had invariably held by my Sovereign's commands, of his royal intention, being ever and alike disposed to come to any reasonable terms of accommodation with Spain, finally to adjust our long subsisting differences.

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With regard to the three points contained in the memorial presented as the Spanish grievances, after dwelling upon the exact and unimpeached justice of the English courts of judicature, I observed, it was the fault of the parties who thought themselves aggrieved, if they did not seek redress in that due course which was ever open for them to pursue, since there was the regular courts established to enquire into all matters of that nature, and those who were not satisfied with the decrees issued from thence, had always recourse to the Lords of Appeals; but that, it must be owned, it gave no favourable opinion of a cause about which the clients only clamoured, without seeking to have it decided in the proper forms of law: and it was superfluous to add, how many instances might be met with to ascertain this assertion; therefore the first article might be looked upon only in order to swell the appearance of grievances: and in all lights, the French ministers would never be authorised by us to take cognizance of what was solely to be decided by English tribunals.

As to the second article, containing the claim so often set up by the Biscayans and Guipuscoans, to fish at Newfoundland, and *as often denied by England*, I had, in the clearest terms I could make use of, shewed, that the first discovery of that island was made at the expences and by the command of Henry VII. and I had likewise demonstrated the uninterrupted possession of it, from that time to the present date, to have belonged to the English, from their being constantly settled there, whilst the Spaniards never had any establishments in those parts; therefore it was absolutely impossible for Great Britain to make the least concession in so clear a right, and it was hoped Spain would no longer expect, as the price of our union, a sacrifice which could never be granted by the court of London.

Lastly, Concerning the disputes about the coast of Honduras, I could add nothing to the *repeated declarations I had made in the King's name*, of the satisfaction with which his Majesty would receive any just overture from Spain (upon condition that France was not to be the channel of that conveyance) for terminating amicably, and to mutual satisfaction, every reasonable complaint on this matter, by proposing some equitable regulation for securing to us the long-enjoyed privilege of cutting logwood (an indulgence confirmed by treaty, and of course authorised in the most sacred manner), nor could I give stronger assurances than the past, of his Majesty's steady purpose to cause all establishments on the logwood coasts, contrary to the territorial jurisdiction of Spain, to be removed.

After having gone through these several points, General Wall, as he had done upon a *former occasion*, desired me to put into writing the principal heads of my discourse, promising me to make a proper use of them at the *Despachos*, for his incorrect memory rendered such notes absolutely necessary for him: I readily complied with his Excellency's request, as I was certain by that method the Catholic King would be exactly informed of what I meant to have conveyed to his knowledge. The inclosed paper, marked *A.* is the copy of what I wrote down, and gave to the Spanish Minister.

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I proceeded by saying, although a precipitated step could not be entirely recovered, yet it might be remedied; for, without any formal retractation, the expressing some concern for what had not been considered in all its consequences, might soften, and even wipe off, any impressions, however unfavourable, that might, nay, must have been made on the mind of his Majesty, by this memorial from the court of France.

As I thought I perceived a disposition in M. Wall, in some measure, to disavow the offensiveness of this step, I did not lose the opportunity of suggesting every pretext, and offering to his Excellency all kinds of handles to explain away what had so unavoidably given disgust in England; and I endeavoured, in pursuance of what you so much recommend to me, to adapt myself to those circumstances which were of a nature to furnish this court with the best retreat imaginable.

I have here related, without interruption, what has been alledged by me, and have set down all the arguments I made use of; therefore, I will now proceed to give an account of what was insisted upon by General Wall, in support of his own reasonings, or advanced by his Excellency in contradiction to mine.

The Spanish Minister began by acquainting me, that M. Grimaldi had conveyed to him all that had passed, either in writing or in discourse, between yourself, Sir, and M. de Buffi, as well as the language Mr. Stanley had held with the Duke of Choiseul on the memorial relating to Spain. His Excellency told me, the Most Christian King having early intimated his desire here, that his Catholic Majesty should guarantee the intended peace between the courts of London and Versailles; in order to render that peace more permanent, the King of Spain had thought proper to agree to that proposal's being made by France to England, as well as to consent to France's express offer of endeavouring to accommodate the disputes subsisting between England and Spain, at the same time she was trying to put an end to a war which had lasted so long between the British and French crowns. But he affirmed to me, that the intention of the court of Madrid, in assenting to that proposal, was totally void of any design to retard the peace, and absolutely free from the least intention of giving offence to his Majesty, though it appeared that step had been productive of different effects; that, as to England's declaring she never would add facilities towards accommodating her differences with another Sovereign, in consideration of any intimation from a power at war, or the threatenings of an enemy, the Catholic King could not but applaud those sentiments in his Majesty, which he felt so strongly within himself; adding, it was certain the court of London was at liberty to reject any proposals coming from the French ministry, yet that could not in any way influence the King of Spain's communicating whatever measures he thought conducive to his interests, to the Most Christian King, his Catholic Majesty's friend, ally, and near relation.

M. Wall pursued his discourse, by acquainting me with France's having spontaneously offered to the Catholic King (in case the disputes between Great Britain

Britain and Spain should, at any time hereafter, occasion a rupture between our two courts) to unite her forces with those of Spain, to prevent the English encroachments in America upon his Catholic Majesty's territory: an offer which the Spanish Monarch had received with that cordiality which was due to a friend, who was determined even to involve herself in a fresh war, in order to defend Spain.

General Wall then asked me, whether it was possible to be imagined in England, the Catholic King was seeking to provoke us; especially *at a time that the court of London was in the most flourishing and most exalted situation it had ever known, occasioned by the greatest series of prosperities that any single nation had ever met with**? And he assured me, the Catholic King, both before and at present, esteemed as well as valued the frequent professions I had made, by command from my court, of his Majesty's desire to adjust our mutual differences amicably; but he perceived, the terms on which those disputes were sought to be accommodated, occasioned the difficulty. The Catholic King, he said, did not think England would look upon the French ministers as a tribunal to which the court of London would make an appeal, nor meant it as such, when the first article of grievances was conveyed through that channel. As to the second, the claim of the Guipuscoans and Biscayans to fish for *Bacallao*; it was what Spain had always insisted upon, and never had receded from by any treaty. And, lastly, concerning England's evacuating all the usurped settlements on the logwood coasts, it had never been offered, but upon such conditions as were inconsistent with the dignity of the Spanish crown to accept of; since the court of London would only consent, that, previous to her sending orders to those unjust settlers to remove, and to cause the fortifications to be demolished, the Catholic King should be compelled to make known to the English, in what manner the logwood was to be assured to the King's subjects, notwithstanding the Spanish monarch had repeatedly given his royal word, a method should be found out for that purpose; and that, till it was adjudged in what manner Great Britain should enjoy that privilege, the English cutters of logwood should continue, without interruption or molestation of any kind, to carry on their commerce upon the footing they at present exercise it. His Catholic Majesty only asking, that, for his own royal decorum, the usurped establishments should be relinquished by the English, to prove that good faith we piqued ourselves upon, and to convince Spain we did not maintain those forcible possessions, as pledges, which sooner or later we imagined would compel the court of Madrid to grant us our own terms, and in the mean time to increase (which the British subjects did daily) the encroachments upon the coasts of Honduras.

This, Sir, to the best of my recollection, is what has been advanced or replied by General Wall at our different interviews. Yet, for greater accuracy, and a fuller explanation of the sentiments of his Excellency, I desire leave to

* Could there be a greater compliment paid to the conduct of Mr. Pitt?

refer you to the inclosed paper distinguished by the letter (B), which includes the substance of what the secretary of state first spoke from, then read to me, and afterwards gave into my hands; consenting to let me send it to England, not as a memorial, but to be considered in the same light with that paper which I had agreed to give his Excellency, containing some notes, to enable him to represent to his royal master, with candour, what I had been ordered to lay a stress upon; and this was delivered to me with the same view; a proof whereof was, that there was no date to either of our writings, no signature, nor any title prefixed.

At my first conference, I told General Wall I had received the King's commands to desire his Excellency would, in the present conjuncture, give me a proper explanation with regard to the naval armaments which had been carried on in various ports of this country; and to ask for an explicit eclaircissement with relation to the destination of the Spanish fleet; as well as to inform myself particularly, from his Excellency, what were the dispositions of the Catholic King to maintain friendship, and to cultivate a good correspondence with his Majesty; alledging, that this measure was judged by England to be the more absolutely necessary at present, as the French emissaries, and the partisans of our enemies were attempting by every method, to propagate the belief of an approaching rupture with Spain, in conjunction with France; therefore the King thought himself strongly called upon, from the indispensable motives of what his Majesty owes to his crown, and to his people, to expect to have a categorical answer to the questions I had put, by his royal command. The last time I saw M. Wall, which was the fifth meeting we had together, I renewed those questions, and then received exactly the same answer which had been given me the first time: That Spain was surpris'd Great-Britain should take umbrage at any naval preparations, she was, or had been making since the accession of his present Catholic Majesty; for, including both the ships of the line, as well as the frigates, the whole number did not exceed in all that of twenty; which M. Wall assured me were, by several, fewer than those which had been equipped during the reign of the late King Ferdinand. His Excellency told me that, with regard to their destination, some were frequently going backwards and forwards between this kingdom and Naples; others were intended to convoy the homeward or outward-bound flotas, assogues, or register ships; and the remaining ones were to serve as a check upon the Barbary Corsairs, and to defend their coasts, or smaller vessels from insults: and in relation to the third question, his Catholic Majesty's disposition and professions had invariably been the same, and were ever meant to cement and cultivate the friendship so happily subsisting between our two courts.

I hope, Sir, it will be found I have minutely obeyed every command I have been honoured with from his Majesty. I am but too conscious of the unreasonable, and (I apprehend) tiresome length of his dispatch, which on account of my frequent interviews with the Spanish minister, and from my unfeigned zeal for the service of my gracious royal master, has insensibly led me on to be

as particular as it was possible on so interesting a subject, and in so critical a conjuncture. I wish this narration had proved a more satisfactory one; yet, when the style of General Wall's inclosed paper is compared with that which was given to me last January, I hope it will appear there is less peevishness at present here, than what was so strongly exhibited some months ago. The strong avowal of a most intimate cordiality between Spain and France, contained in his last production of the Spanish secretary of state's, has hurt me. I could not avoid acquainting his Excellency, that it seemed calculated rather to serve as an apology for the proceedings of the court of Versailles, and to be a justification of the conduct of the French ministers, than for any other purpose.

I am, &c.

BRISTOL.

Translation of a paper marked A, inclosed in the Earl of Bristol's Letter of Aug. 31, 1761.

I. Monf. de Buffy having presented to Mr. Pitt a memorial on the part of his court, concerning the discussions of Great Britain with Spain; the King my master ordered his secretary of state to send back the said memorial, as totally inadmissible.

II. It has been told him that France has not had at any time, a right to meddle in our disputes with the court of Madrid.

III. Further, that it would be looked upon as offensive to the King's dignity, and incompatible with the good faith of the negotiation, that further mention should be made of the differences of our courts.

IV. Orders to make remonstrances on the conduct of Spain, who, whilst she lived in good correspondence with England, and has always declared that her intention was to put an end to our long disputes by some amicable arrangement, makes use of such a voice as that of an enemy to convey her grievances to us.

V. Although the King will never hearken to any thing on account of an intimation from a power at war, threatening an union of counsels, and hinting a future war (perhaps not distant on the part of Spain and France); notwithstanding that, his Majesty, from an uniform conduct, and constantly inclined to every satisfaction to his Catholic Majesty, continues ready amicable to terminate every thing which can occasion the least coolness between the two kingdoms.

VI. With regard to the three articles recited in the memorial as grievances of Spain; I am ordered to say, First, that the courts of justice, established in England to decide causes relative to the restitution of prizes made on the Spaniards, or thought to be in violation of the Catholic King's territory, are always open to all those who bring their complaints thither; and that the ministers of the most Christian King are not acknowledged in England as a tribunal, before which England will consent that an appeal be brought.

VII. As to the second article. The first discovery of the island of New-

foundland, having been proved to have been made at the expence, and on the account of King Henry VII. the uninterrupted possession of that island, by the settlements of the subjects of England ever since the said epoch to this hour, has also been demonstrated: further, Spain having never made any settlement there, and the pretended right of the Biscayners, and Guipuscoans, not being at any time admitted, the King can never consent to the least concession on this article; and flatters himself that Spain will never expect, as the price of an union so much to be wished for by the two nations, a sacrifice on the part of Great Britain, which can never be agreed to in any shape.

VIII. On the subject of logwood, which makes the third object; his Majesty is constant in his intentions to cause all the settlements, contrary to the territorial jurisdiction of the Catholic King in America, to be evacuated: and will receive with pleasure any just overture on the part of the court of Madrid, (provided that it does not pass through the channel of the French ministers) for accommodating our differences, and for putting an end to every complaint, by finding some means for granting logwood to us, without inconvenience to Spain.

Translation of a paper delivered to the Earl of Bristol by General Wall, at St. Ildefonso, August 28, 1761. Marked (B).

THE memorial which M. de Buffy presented to Mr. Pitt by order of his court, setting forth the desire the most Christian King had to terminate his peace with England, under the guaranty of the Catholic King, and that, at the same time the disputes between the courts of Madrid and London, might in some shape be accommodated, is a step, which his Catholic Majesty will not deny has been taken with his full consent, approbation, and pleasure: however, he will affirm, and does affirm to the court of Great-Britain, and to the whole world, that his intention in consenting thereto, as well as in approving of it, was not to offend the dignity of that crown, or retard its peace; on the contrary, to consolidate it, and, in all human possibility, to perpetuate it. It may have been productive of contrary effects: for, as most actions bear different constructions, this has not received in London the same that was put upon it at Madrid and Paris; and both courts have been concerned at displeasing the King of Great-Britain, and indisposing him from continuing the negotiations of a peace with France, and of regulating his differences with Spain, jointly or separately, it is equal to both monarchs, since they have only good in view; though they will never give up to England a right, which, without example, it pretends to assume, of hindering the one from interfering in the affairs of the other, for their mutual assistance, as their union, friendship, and relationship require.

Thus the end being explained, which the courts of Madrid and Paris proposed by the delivery of the memorial, the original motive will now be explained with the same sincerity.

There

There is the greatest harmony between the two courts: and who, in this age, can be surprised there should be that harmony between the Kings of Spain and France? His most Christian Majesty has communicated to his Catholic Majesty, in consequence, all the steps taken to bring about a peace from the very beginning of the war. His Catholic Majesty has acquainted his most Christian Majesty, as often as there has been occasion, with his affairs at the court of London.

His most Christian Majesty resolved to purchase peace at the dear price of the proposals contained in the plan delivered by the Duke of Choiseul to Mr. Stanley; and one of the motives which induced him to so great a sacrifice was, in order to secure, for many years, the peace of his kingdoms, by satisfying at once the views of the English. And he signified, at the same time to his Catholic Majesty, his desire of cutting short those beginnings of disagreement between him and his British Majesty, on account of his grievances with the court of London, with this kind expression, that, if a rupture ensued between England and Spain, France will have miscarried in the above object of her present sacrifices, as she will be necessitated to assist in defending Spain, and involve herself in a new war. Was the Catholic King to despise so generous an overture? It was not to be expected. Ought England to be surprised at it? As little. It being grounded upon this, that if England saw that France attacked the dominions of Spain, particularly in America, she would run immediately to her defence, for her own conveniency, as well as because she had, equally with France, guarantied them. Well, what was to be done? Said the two courts, they agreed, that France should declare to England, that, as she was coming to a composition with her, she desired that nothing might remain, not even a mistrust, of returning to a fresh war; and that she should exhort England to terminate her disputes with Spain to their mutual satisfaction, which alone occasioned any doubt.

Both courts thought that France could not take a step that shewed better faith towards England, and there is no doubt but so it appears; without examining why or wherefore it is thought otherwise at London, or in what it offends the dignity of the British monarch. What proceeding more noble can an enemy hold with another than France does to England, in saying, to conclude a peace with England, I yield up this and that; however, at the same time I am resolved to make this sacrifice, I cannot but say, I wish to secure a peace for many years, and therefore should be glad that England would settle with Spain their subjects of disagreement together, because otherwise they may again entangle me in a fresh war.

Yet England finds reason for remonstrating against the conduct of Spain hereupon; expressing that, at a time she is living in good harmony with Spain, and has declared her desire of terminating her long differences by some amicable adjustment, Spain makes use of England's enemy as the channel of her grievances. It is repeated in answer, that Spain only consented that France should take this step, in as much as it appeared not only inoffensive, but, on the

the contrary, to come more from an honest and sincere friend than an enemy; and that Spain is far from thinking to irritate England. She would not have staid to chuse her time so ill, if views of prudence and moderation had not contained her; and above all, the never-lost hopes of finding justice in the British court.

How many proofs has not Spain already given, of her aiming to obtain a redress of her grievances, without pretending it otherwise than in a friendly manner? six years ago, the Spanish governors being ordered to oppose the intrusion of foreigners upon the American coasts, an expedition was made to dislodge the English from some new establishments; and the court of London having reclaimed against an offensive method, which happened exactly at the time she was coming to a rupture with France, from whence it might have been inferred that Spain in seizing that conjuncture, sought to straiten England, (then less powerful, and not so sure of her happy successes as at present,) the Catholic King commanded, in order to take away all kind of mistrust from England, that those orders should be superceded; and even to restore to the English whatever effects might been taken from them; and his British Majesty offered to settle these points in a friendly manner. During these same six years, we have not discontinued to solicit, without advancing one day more than the other: and during that time (who would believe it?) the English have increased their incroached establishment upon that coast.

The King of Spain will say as the King of England does, that he will do nothing on account of the intimation of a hostile power, who threatens an union of councils, and gives to understand a future war; for the Catholic King approves of, and esteems in other monarchs those sentiments of honour he feels himself; and if he had thought that the delivery of the memorial had been construed as an intimation, and a threat, he would never have consented to it. Why has not England made the trial of concluding her peace with France without the guaranty or intervention of Spain, and adjust her differences with Spain without the knowledge of France? and she would have experienced, that their union was not an obstruction, but only tended and tends to live in tranquility, and shake of all danger with regard to its permanency. With respect to what concerns Spain, it is now repeated, as it has been so many times before, that as the King of Great-Britain, notwithstanding the delivery of the said memorial, was inclined to satisfy the Catholic King, and was ready to terminate, in a friendly manner, whatever might occasion a coolness between the two kingdoms; his Catholic Majesty esteems and corresponds most assuredly with such good purposes. The difficulty consists in the terms. Three articles of grievances were stated, in the memorial, by the court of Madrid against that of London, which has been answered, but not with more compliance than any of the former offices, full of conviction, from the Spanish ambassador in England, have been answered.

With regard to the claim of the injuries against the neutrality in this war, which is one, and about which there is no material stumbling-block; after other

other things, it is said, That England can never look upon the ministers of the most Christian King as a tribunal to which it will consent to carry an appeal; and it cannot be imagined to what purpose. Who ever thought of such an irregularity? Concerning the liberty of the Biscayners and Guipuscoans to fish for Bacallao, an absolute negative is given to that right, though it is so well proved: and with respect to evacuating the establishments, it is only offered upon terms inadmissible with the Catholic King's decorum, That before doing it, he should assure to the English the logwood. Hard proceeding certainly, for one to confess, that he is gone into the house of another to take away his jewels; and to say, "I will go out again, but first you shall engage to give me what I went to take." And still harder, when set in opposition with the Bacallao; for the Spaniards want that for their food, as the English want the logwood for their fabricks: yet the English would by force take away the logwood, and hinder by force the Spaniards from taking away the Bacallao. One would think that the English themselves ought with reluctance to produce such a pretension.

Copy of a most secret Letter from the Earl of Egremont, to the Earl of Brissol, dated October 28, 1761.

MY LORD,

IN opening* my correspondence with your excellency, it gives me great pleasure to be able to inform you, that your letter of the 14th past, wherein you mention, "That M. Wall has acquainted you that the Catholic King had, at no time, been more intent on cultivating a good correspondence with his Majesty, than at present," having been laid before the King, his Majesty received, with particular satisfaction, such an authentic declaration of the good intentions of his Catholic Majesty; and the King highly approves of the assurances your Excellency gave, in return, to the Spanish minister, with regard to additional works at Gibraltar: and it is with great pleasure, I can assure your Excellency, that having made proper enquiry into that matter, I find no orders whatsoever have been issued with regard to those fortifications; and therefore nothing can have been done there, but the usual and necessary repairs.

I am also to inform your Excellency, that the confirmation of the same good dispositions in the court of Spain, manifested by M. Wall's expressing (as reported in your dispatch of the 28th past) their readiness to come to a speedy adjustment with England, upon our evacuating the most recent settlements on the coast of Honduras, only to serve as a salvo to the Spaniards Pundonor, was considered, by his Majesty, as a happy presage of a speedy and amicable conclusion of all disputes subsisting between the two crowns.

It is judged highly expedient for the King's service, that the court of Spain should, in the present moment, be apprised of the sentiments of that of Great-

* The first words of this letter informs us, that it is Lord Egremont's first letter to Lord Brissol; although he had been in office from the time that Mr. Pitt resigned. Such a delay, at so critical period, shews the unwillingness of the cabinet to enter upon the Spanish business.

Britain.

Britain. I am therefore to acquaint your Excellency, that his Majesty continues to have nothing more at heart, than to cultivate the most cordial friendship with his Catholic Majesty; trusting, however, to find this disposition reciprocal on the part of Spain. Nothing being more evident, than the mutual advantage which must arise to both courts from a state of union and amity; and perhaps experience has shewn, that when, in contradiction to the obvious principles of our common interests, that harmony has been unhappily interrupted, Spain has always been the greatest sufferer.

These being the King's sentiments, his Majesty cannot imagine that the court of Spain should think it unreasonable, to desire a communication of the treaty *acknowledged** to have been lately concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, or of such articles thereof as can, by particular and explicit engagements, immediately relate to the interests of Great-Britain, or, in a more general and distant view of affairs, be any ways construed to affect the same in the present conjuncture, before he enters into farther negotiation on the points depending between the two crowns; which the King conceives may be soon amicably accommodated, if his Catholic Majesty means to bring the same facility on his part, as his Majesty is determined to shew on his, towards the speedy adjustment of that, which seems now to remain the principal, if not the only matter in dispute: for though the King, from his confidence in the repeated assurances of friendship from his Catholic Majesty, is unwilling to suppose that a treaty concluded by him, can contain any thing to the prejudice of Great-Britain; yet as the Court of France has affected to give out that Spain was on the point of entering into the war; which language has been industriously propagated, and generally with success, in most courts of Europe; his Majesty therefore thinks, that the honour of his crown, and the interests of his people, equally call for an explanation with regard to this already too much credited report, before he can, consistently with his own dignity, proceed in any negotiation with Spain: nor can any fair or candid discussion of the rights or differences of the two courts take place upon a just and equitable footing, should Spain, while she is fully informed of the extent of all his Majesty's alliances and connections, maintain a suspicious and unfriendly reserve, with regard to a treaty recently concluded between her and his Majesty's declared and inveterate enemy; by whom it is openly and industriously asserted, throughout Europe, that the purport thereof is hostile to Great Britain.

I am here to inform your Excellency, that, in my first conference with the Count de Fuentes, I explained this matter fully; but his Excellency avoided entering into it, and seemed to wish that it might be passed through another channel; disclaiming, however, in the strongest manner, any unfriendly intentions of his court. It is therefore the King's pleasure, that your Excellency

* When was this *acknowledgement* made, and to whom? No such fact appears in any of the papers ever laid before Parliament. It is contradicted by the inclosures marked A, B, and D, in Lord Bristol's letter of December 11, 1761. And by Lord Egremont's answer to the Count de Fuentes of December 31, 1761.

should

should use the most pressing instances to M. Wall, to obtain such communication as is above mentioned; and it is hoped, that you will easily convince a minister so thoroughly acquainted with the nature and constitution of this country, of the importance of this test of friendship, to the support of that desirable harmony between the two courts; and how much a refusal to give due satisfaction on this head, would impede and obstruct his Majesty's best intentions towards that valuable object. It is needless to recommend to your Excellency, to urge this matter in the most polite and friendly terms; *gently insinuating* the above arguments, to shew, that his Majesty ought to be satisfied as to this matter, before he proceed to other points: but on the other hand, your Excellency will give the Spanish minister the strongest assurances, that, this obstacle once removed, his Majesty is most sincerely and cordially disposed to enter into amicable discussion of other matters in dispute; little doubting, but that a confirmed reciprocal confidence would naturally point out expedients to save the honour of both Kings, adjust things to mutual satisfaction, and establish a harmony, as permanent as advantageous to both courts. Nor can I more explicitly enforce the King's real sentiments on this head, than by referring your Excellency to your own dispatches, wherein you have repeatedly made the most conciliating overtures, particularly in that of the 31st of August last, which I cannot more properly express, than in your Excellency's own words, as follows. "Concerning the disputes about the coast of Honduras, I could add nothing to the repeated declarations I had made in the King's name, of the satisfaction with which his Majesty would receive any just overture from Spain (upon condition that France was not to be the channel of that conveyance) for terminating amicably, and to mutual satisfaction, every reasonable complaint on this matter, by proposing some equitable regulation for securing to us the long-enjoyed privilege of cutting logwood (an indulgence confirmed by treaty, and of course authorised in the most sacred manner) nor could I give stronger assurances than the past, of his Majesty's steady purpose to cause all establishments on the logwood coasts, contrary to the territorial jurisdiction of Spain, to be removed;" and should your Excellency see the proper moment for renewing the declarations of the same sort, I am to assure your Excellency of his Majesty's approbation therein.

In order to prevent any perverse impressions, which Mr. Pitt's retiring from public business, at this juncture, might occasion, it is proper that I should assure your Excellency, that the measures of government will suffer no relaxation on that account; on the contrary, I may venture to promise, that the idea suggested by some malevolent persons at home, and perhaps industriously propagated abroad, of the whole spirit of the war subsiding with him, instead of discouraging, will only tend to animate the present ministry to a more vigorous exertion of their powers, to avoid every possible imputation of indecision or indolence, which ignorant prejudice might suggest: and the example of the spirit of the late measures, will be a spur to his Majesty's servants to persevere, and to stretch every nerve of this country, towards forcing the enemy to come into a safe, honourable, and, above all, a lasting peace. I further have the pleasure to inform your Ex-

cellency, that the most perfect harmony, mutual confidence and unanimity, now reign in his Majesty's councils; with a thorough determination to push the war with such vigour, as will, it is hoped, under the hand of Providence, procure still farther successes to the just cause for which this country drew the sword. The King, at the same time, continues to be disposed, with equal moderation, to put an end to the dreadful calamities of war, the moment the enemy will listen to such terms of peace as shall be consistent with his Majesty's honour, in some degree adequate to the successes of his arms, and calculated, by promising permanency, to preserve mankind from the various distresses and miseries, which have been so fatally experienced during the course of this cruel and bloody war.

I am, &c.

EGREMONT.

*Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Egremont to the Earl of Bristol, dated Oct. 28, 1761.
Secret and confidential.*

MY LORD,

I AM to acquaint your Excellency, that his Majesty does not think proper to confine you, as to the mode of opening yourself to Mr. Wall, on the important subject of this dispatch; or to prescribe whether you are to communicate the substance of it verbally, or to trust the whole, or any part thereof, out of your hands: your Excellency's experience of that minister will, no doubt, suggest to you the degree of compliment and confidence which is most likely to succeed, and which is, for that reason, entirely left to your discretion.

I am further to inform your Excellency, for your private direction, That, in case you should find insuperable objections to such a communication as is expected in my most secret letter of this date, and that, in lieu thereof, it should be proposed to give his Majesty solemn assurances of the innocence of the treaty in question with respect to the King's interests; in such case, your Excellency is *not* totally to reject the alternative, but to take it *ad referendum* to be transmitted to your court: provided always, That the said assurances be given upon his Catholic Majesty's royal word, signified in writing, either by the Spanish secretary of state to your Excellency, or by the Conde de Fuentes to the King's secretary of state here, and not otherwise.

I am, &c.

EGREMONT.

*Copy of a letter from the Earl of Bristol to the Earl of Egremont, dated Escorial,
Nov. 2, 1761. Received Nov. 14.*

MY LORD,

THE surprising change I have of late perceived in Generall Wall's discourse, and the unlooked for alteration of that minister's sentiments, with regard to the present

present situation of this country, has determined me to dispatch the messenger Potter to England, that your Lordship may be thoroughly informed of the haughty language now held by this court; so different from all the former professions made to me by the Catholic King's commands, and so diametrically opposite to the most solemn and repeated declarations I had received from the Spanish secretary of state, of a thorough resolution to maintain a perfect harmony and good correspondence between the two kingdoms, so requisite for their mutual interest and reciprocal felicity.

Such strong reports of an approaching rupture between Great-Britain and Spain, grounded upon several authentic assurances I had received, that some agreement had been settled and signed between their Catholic and most Christian Majesties, determined me to enquire minutely into this affair; and therefore, I took an opportunity of mentioning to Mr. Wall, that notwithstanding the frequent, and even late declarations he had made to me, concerning the pacific inclinations of Spain, yet I could not conceal the uneasiness it gave me, to hear from all parts, both within these kingdoms, and from other countries, that a treaty had not long since been concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, and therefore I desired his Excellency would satisfy my doubts, by informing me, whether there was any ground for these rumours; and in case it were possible, after all that had passed between us, for such a convention as was hinted at, to have been concluded; then I hoped to be told of what nature this treaty was, whether offensive or singly defensive, what were the principal conditions contained in it, and with what views this sudden and close union between Spain and France had been calculated: for I could neither hear such reports with indifference, nor give credit to the truth of them, without an explicit avowal thereof from his Excellency's mouth.

Instead of answering me directly, General Wall began, by saying, that the King his master had reason to think the conduct of England unwarrantable; for his Catholic Majesty never could obtain an answer from the British ministry, to any memorial or paper that was sent from hence, either by the channel of the Count of Fuentes, or through my hands: he told me, we were intoxicated with all our successes, and a continued series of victories had elated us so far, as to induce us to condemn the reasonable concessions France had consented to make us for a peace: but that it was evident, by our refusal of the Duc de Choiseul's proposals, all we aimed at was, to crush Spain, to drive all the subjects of the Christian King, not only from their island colonies in the new world, but also to destroy their several forts and settlements upon the continent of North America, to have an easier task in seizing on all the Spanish dominion in those parts, thereby to satisfy the utmost of our ambition, and to gratify our unbounded thirst of conquest.

After M. Wall had worked up his anger to a height I had never before seen, he then said, with uncommon warmth, That he would himself be the man to advise the King of Spain, since his dominions were to be overwhelmed, at least to have them seized with arms in his subjects hands, and not to continue the

passive victim he had hitherto appeared to be in the eyes of the world. I attended to this discourse, without interrupting the thread of it; and, at the conclusion of it, I desired, with the utmost serenity, of General Wall, to give me an answer to the questions I had first started, and we would afterwards proceed to discuss what his Excellency had been expatiating upon. But the Spanish minister only renewed some of his former exclamations, by insisting, that we had set the Spanish power at defiance during this war; that we had attacked and plundered their vessels, insulted their coasts, violated the neutrality of the kingdoms, encroached upon the territorial jurisdiction of his Catholic Majesty's dominions in America, by fortifying ourselves in an illegal manner in the bay of Campeachy and the gulf of Honduras, erecting fresh settlements, and seizing on logwood in a most arbitrary manner, besides denying the Spaniards a right, they had so long claimed, to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland; nay, even wanting to put the Biscayners and Guipuscoans on a worse footing at present, with regard to their pretensions to the Bacallas trade, than they had been by the treaties of Utrecht and than of 1721, where the article in relation to them was, That those Spaniards should enjoy *quæ jure sibi vindicare poterunt*: whereas all my instructions had run to declare their claim to be stale and inadmissible; and finally, to assert that England hoped the Catholic King would never expect this sacrifice as the price of a union, which would never be consented to on those terms.

General Wall went on, by saying, He perceived he had in vain given hopes to his royal master, that a proper attention would be paid to the Spanish demands, and justice be granted to atone for the repeated grievances of his Catholic Majesty's subjects; yet he wanted to know where, when, and how, it was to be expected, since we shewed no regard to this country, which had hitherto withstood all the advantageous offers made by France to enter into the present war.

Notwithstanding this second digression of his Excellency's, I did not desist from my point, but renewed my former questions, by alledging, that the business I came about, was to receive some explicit answer to what I had before enquired after. At last, General Wall replied, he had no orders to acquaint me with any measures but what he had formerly communicated to me, and signified his not being at liberty to say any more; but said, M. de Fuentes had wrote word, in his letter of the 2d past, that a courier was to be sent to me, and whenever the contents of those dispatches were communicated to him (M. Wall) then I should be acquainted with the resolutions of Spain; for his Catholic Majesty did not doubt of my receiving instructions relative to the Spanish paper I had transmitted in my letter of the 31st of August.

It was evident, by the disposition the secretary of state was in during this whole conference, that I should at that time gain no ground by any farther enquiries into what I wanted to be instructed in. I therefore broke off here; and after having paid my court, as usual, with the rest of the ambassadors, to his Catholic Majesty, I returned in about an hour to the office, under pretence of shewing an attention I always pay to General Wall, when I intend sending off a messenger, which was, to desire his Excellency would honour me with any commands
he

he might have for England, either of a public or a private nature. As our conversation in general had been too interesting (whilst a part of it was so mysterious), for me not to send home an exact account of all that had passed, by a safe conveyance; I let this drop, in order to renew the former topic, and, by so doing, endeavour to procure a little more insight into this mysterious business.

The Spanish minister began in his former strain, but multiplied the appearance of his country's grievances; talked of its being time to open their eyes, and not to suffer a neighbour, an ally, a parent, and a friend, any longer to run the risque of receiving such rigid laws, as were prescribed by an insulting victor: his Excellency told me, the court of Versailles, after having communicated to the Catholic King, every the most minute step taken, during Mr. Stanley's negotiations at Paris, and M. de Buffi's conferences at London, had determined to publish to the whole world, the mortifying terms France had brought itself to submit to for the sake of peace; and to make known the arbitrary unreasonable demands of England, which frustrated the good intentions of the most Christian King, whose humanity had made him consent to put an end to the war, even at the dear price of yielding so much as he had brought himself to agree to, in order, if possible, to satisfy the ambition of Great-Britain.

I thought I had sufficiently listened to all these accusations, and that a longer silence would be reproachful. I must confess, the allegations mentioned by M. Wall in the first conference, were so unexpected to me, on account of their differing so widely from all prior conversations on those subjects, that I thought it more prudent then, only to attend to what his Excellency asserted, and afterwards, by a short absence from his closet, endeavour to recollect the substance of what had been advanced, that I might be the better enabled to answer, though, I feared, not to convince, the Spanish minister.

I began, by expressing my surprise, that, when I came to be informed of a step so publickly discoursed of in the world, I could not obtain the satisfaction I solicited from one, who alone could clear my doubts, and solve my questions: that all I had been able to find out was, that it seemed determined to keep me in the dark; and, in order to divert my attention from the single point I wanted to be instructed in, I had only heard a complicated heap of grievances, flung out with a view to deter me from persevering in the pursuit of getting my curiosity satisfied. Upon that I went methodically through the various subjects that had been started by the Spanish secretary of state, insisting on the first discovery, and a continued possession of the Newfoundland fishery, by the King's subjects; whereas the Spaniards had never brought any proofs to back their own assertions to a claim to that fishery, whilst we had clearly deduced our right from the time of Henry VII.

With regard to the logwood trade; a constant enjoyment of it for about a century, having been confirmed to us by treaties, under the denominations of an indulgence or suffrance, made it a legal commodity: but as to all usurped settlements, I had often been ordered to declare the King's readiness to have them evacuated, when an equitable regulation was settled, between the two courts, for our quiet possession of that valuable branch of commerce.

Then,

Then, as to the several complaints of breaches of neutrality, pretended confiscations of goods, unlawful seizures of Spanish vessels, and all the various blended grievances I had heard of; I could only answer, in general, that our courts of law were open to all complaints, and though parties might go from thence dissatisfied, yet the justice of those courts of judicature had never been impeached.

In relation to England's views of forcing our enemies to agree to such terms, as we thought might insure our nation from the apprehensions of a future war; I desired to know, what instance there was of any country's not endeavouring to obtain the most advantageous conditions for itself at a peace, especially when Providence had vouchsafed to bless a righteous cause with success: this was the case of Great Britain; we were bound by strong engagements to support our allies, and insisted on being at liberty to fulfil those engagements according to the extent of them; whilst we determined to settle our empire in America upon such a footing, as should free our colonies there from encroachments, and not leave them to be liable to a repetition of such chicanes from the French, as had caused the beginning of those disturbances, which had afterwards extended themselves into Europe.

This was the sum of my discourse; and when I recurred to my repeated instances for information concerning the treaty, all that I could, with difficulty, extort from General Wall, was, that his Catholic Majesty had judged it expedient to renew his family compacts (those were the express words) with the most Christian King. I begged to know when those compacts had been agreed upon; and at what time, whether very lately, or some months ago, they had received a fresh sanction. Here the Spanish minister stopt short, and, as if he had gone beyond what he intended, he said, that the Count de Fuentes and M. Buffy had declared to his Majesty's ministers, that all was meant to be communicated to them; and although I continued in the closet some short time after that declaration, as I found I was to expect nothing but a repetition of the same answer to every question I put, I determined to retire.

This, my Lord, is the result of my enquiries, and here the business rests at present.

Two ships have lately arrived at Cadiz, with very extraordinary rich cargoes, from the West Indies; so that all the wealth that was expected from Spanish America, is now safe in Old Spain: perhaps this circumstance has raised the language of the Catholic King's ministers, added to the progress, which, we hear, the French army is making in the King's electoral dominions, and the success that has attended the Austrian operations in Silesia. I have long observed the jealousy of Spain at the British conquests; and am now convinced, that the consciousness of this country's naval inferiority, has occasioned the soothing declarations, so repeatedly made, of a desire to maintain harmony and friendship with England: but the French have never discontinued their flatteries, whilst they solicited a junction of forces, assuring the Spaniards, that even the signing an alliance between their Sovereigns, would intimidate our court, not only upon account of our being exhausted by the present long and expensive war, but by our having
felt

felt the fatal consequences of an interruption of our Spanish trade, during the last war.

I am, &c.

BRISTOL.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Bristol to the Earl of Egremont, dated Escorial, Nov. 9, 1761. Received December 3.

MY LORD,

ACCOUNTS have lately been transmitted to me, from several ports of Spain, in relation to the military preparations going forward in this kingdom; and the whole discourse runs upon an approaching rupture between the King and his Catholic Majesty.

Two Spanish ships of war are immediately to sail from Cadiz; the one to convoy the Assogues, and the other to protect several Dutch vessels freighted with ammunition stores, bound to Carthagena in America.

Eleven large ships of the line, now lying at Ferrol, are rigged, manned, and ready to put to sea at a short warning, together with two frigates; one of which is bound to the South Seas, with cannon balls, powder, and many other implements of war.

By advices from Barcelona I hear, that two of the Catholic King's ships of war sailed from thence, the end of last month, with two large barks under their convoy, loaded with 3500 barrels of gunpowder, 1500 bomb-shells, 500 chests of arms, and a considerable quantity of cannon balls of different dimensions; which cargo, it is imagined, is destined for the Spanish West Indies: many more war-like stores are ready to be shipped from Catalonia; and it was reported an embargo was laid on large barks at Barcelona for that purpose.

Five battalions of different regiments of infantry, and two squadrons of dragoons are at Cadiz, waiting their final orders to embark for America: this corps makes in all about 3600 men.

I have desired his Majesty's consuls would be very attentive to all that is going forward in the several places where they reside; and that they would not fail sending me constant accounts of what they observed, in order for my being more particular in my intelligence to your Lordship.

I never see General Wall, to talk upon business, but that he expatiates upon the haughtiness, with which Great Britain has long treated the crown of Spain; as if we imagined, by that means, to intimidate this country from pursuing its claims; or that we should thereby avoid doing justice to the Catholic King, concerning our ill-grounded settlements upon the logwood coasts, as well as with regard to our denying the Spanish subjects the liberty of fishing upon the Newfoundland coasts.

I am, &c.

BRISTOL.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from the Earl Bristol to the Earl of Egremont, dated Madrid, Nov. 16, 1761. Received Dec. 8.

MY LORD,

THE military preparations in this kingdom, are very far from slackening. Sixteen hundred men, draughts from different corps of infantry, with several officers, entered the town of Ferrol the beginning of this month; they were expected to embark shortly for the West Indies, and are to be escorted by three ships of the line.

A regiment of foot is lately gone to Majorca, and another has orders to hold itself in readiness to be sent to the same island.

The Spaniards have, at present, including all their naval force in America, nineteen ships of war in those seas: I have heard various accounts of the number of frigates which attend that West India fleet, but I believe there are not fewer than sixteen of different sizes.

What may be the ultimate resolution of this court, no one can, as yet, pretend entirely to determine; but it is certain, his Catholic Majesty is taking every measure, which can put him in a condition to be prepared for all events. It is difficult to attain at the real truth of any of the Spanish projects; for, where one man only is consulted, secrecy and expedition must naturally attend the execution of their designs.

I am, &c.

BRISTOL.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Egremont to the Earl of Bristol, dated Dec. 22, 1761.

MY LORD,

I AM to acquaint your Excellency, that it is reported in the city, that part of Admiral Holmes's Squadron has lately seized some Spanish barks at Monte Christi, laden with sugar, &c. and has treated them as if they were legal prize.

Though this intelligence is hitherto unsupported by any information which our most diligent enquiries can collect at the admiralty, or elsewhere, yet I had the King's permission to speak of it to the Conde de Fuentes, and to express his Majesty's concern upon hearing it; to which I added his Majesty's assurances, that this matter shall be most strictly enquired into; and, should the facts alledged prove true, not a moment shall be lost in taking such steps, as, it is not doubted, will thoroughly satisfy his Catholic Majesty with regard to the unjustifiable and unauthorised conduct of any of his servants upon this occasion: and that nothing might be omitted which could lead to a speedy and thorough knowledge of this matter, the King has ordered a ship of war to be immediately dispatched to the West Indies, with directions, to make the strictest examination into the foundation for this report, that such farther steps may be taken as the case shall appear to require.

It

It is in order to prevent the malicious use which might be made of this unlucky accident, and to shew his Majesty's readiness to do the strictest justice to the Catholic King, that I am directed to transmit to your Excellency, without loss of time, the real state of this affair; not doubting but your Excellency, without any particular directions on this head, will, at this critical conjuncture, let M. Wall see, in a true light, and in its full extent, that it is not more the invariable and steady principle of his Majesty's conduct towards the crown of Spain, to support his own dignity and the just rights of his subjects, than it is, not only to redress a real injury done to his Catholic Majesty's subjects, but even to prevent a complaint.

I am, &c.

EGREMONT.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Bristol to the Earl of Egremont, dated Madrid, Dec. 11, 1761. Received Dec. 24.

MY LORD,

THIS is the only method I am allowed to take, to communicate to your Lordship my intention of setting out as soon as possible for Lisbon. I have obeyed the King's commands. By the paper marked (A), your Lordship sees the substance of what was mentioned at my first conference with General Wall; but that with the letter (B), what passed at our second interview: copies of both which papers the Spanish minister desired he might have. These conferences were the 6th and 8th instant. General Wall, on the 10th at night, sent me two letters, one an office, copy and translation of which are distinguished C and D; the other by a private letter in his own hand. I had prepared some very long dispatches for your Lordship, relating all particulars, but I was denied post-horses to send a messenger, even to ask for passports from the court of Portugal; and M. de Llanos, who is just gone from me, has owned, in the most polite terms, that I could not, by any method, send any person whatever to any part of Spain, for I know I am surrounded with their spies. I would, if it were possible for me, set out immediately for the frontiers of Portugal, the nearest town of which kingdom is 240 miles from hence; and such are the roads, that no carriage can go it under nine days; but I am, at this moment, and have been for so long, so excessively out of order, that, were I to attempt going from hence even so soon as I could get mules, which all those who furnish them seem to try to delay my doing, my deplorable situation is such, that I should be forced to stop at some village near Madrid, without being able to get forward: however, I have tried at a method I do not mention, for fear of this letter being decyphered, to convey the whole intelligence to Admiral Saunders, General Parflow, and the Consuls. Mr. Porten, seeing how ill I am, has promised to set out forthwith for Lisbon; and by him I shall be able to have the letters forwarded which I have now ready. I propose dispatching a messenger when I do get into Portugal, with a great number of

letters for your Lordship. The messenger being to set out so soon, I have not time to add more.

I am, &c.

BRISTOL.

Copy of Notes given to General Wall, at our first Conference, the 6th of December, 1761. (A.)

COUNT of Fuentes accompanied the Catholic King's letter to his Majesty, with the strongest professions of friendship from Spain.

The King's particular delicacy, in concerting military plans, to avoid any hostilities towards objects that could give umbrage to his Catholic Majesty.

An answer concerning the treaty; as well as to know the intention of Spain with regard to Great Britain.

Nothing could more essentially give real satisfaction to his Majesty, than my procuring such an answer, as might contribute to the continuation of that friendly intercourse, which it is not more the interest of both crowns to maintain, than it is the King's sincere desire to cultivate.

Copy of Notes wrote down in the Closet of General Wall, and given by me to his Excellency, Tuesday the 8th of December, the Day of our second Conference. (B.)

WHETHER the court of Madrid intends to join the French our enemies, to act hostilely against Great Britain? or to depart, in any manner, from its neutrality*?

A catagorical answer is expected to those questions; otherwise, a refusal to comply will be looked upon as an aggression, on the part of Spain, and a declaration of war.

(C) Was not laid before Parliament, being the original Spanish of (D).

General Wall, B. Retiro, 10 Dec. 1761. Translation. (D.) Most Excellent Lord;

MY LORD,

YOUR Excellency having expressed to me, the day before yesterday, and being even pleased to put in writing, That you had orders to ask a positive and categorical answer to the question, If Spain thought of joining herself with France against England? Declaring, at the same time, that you should look upon the refusal as a declaration of war; and that you would, in consequence, leave this court.

* Here the negotiation ends, with coming back to the demand which Mr. Pitt made, in the last paragraph but one, of his letter, dated the twenty-eighth of July 1761.

The

The spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which dictated this inconsiderate step, and which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns so much in the British government, is what made, in the same instant, the declaration of war, and attacked the King's dignity. Your Excellency may think of retiring when, and in what manner, it is convenient to you; which is the only answer that, without detaining you, his Majesty has ordered me to give you.

Buen Retiro, 10 Dec. 1761.

Most excellent Lord, I kiss your Excellency's hands,

Your obedient servant,

DON RICARDO WALL.

Translation of a Note delivered to the Earl of Egremont, by the Count de Fuentes. Dec. 25, 1761.

The Count de Fuentes, the Catholic King's ambassador to his Britannic Majesty, has just received a courier from his court, by whom he is informed, that my Lord Bristol, his Britannic Majesty's ambassador at the court of Madrid, has said to his Excellency M. Wall, minister of state, That he had orders to demand a positive and categorical answer to this question, *viz.* If Spain thinks of allying herself with France against England? and to declare, at the same time, that he should take a refusal to his demand for an aggression and declaration of war; and that he should, in consequence, be obliged to retire from the court of Spain. The above minister of state answered him, That such a step could only be suggested by the spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns but too much in the British government; That it was in that very moment that the war was declared, and the King's dignity violently attacked: That he might retire how and when he should think proper.

The Count de Fuentes is, in consequence, ordered to leave the court and the dominions of England; and to declare to the British King, to the English nation, and to the whole universe, That the horrors into which the Spanish and English nations are going to plunge themselves, must be attributed *only to the pride, and to the unmeasurable ambition, of HIM * who has held the reins of the government, and who appears still to hold them, although by another hand:* That if his Catholic Majesty excused himself from answering on the treaty in question, between his Catholic Majesty, and his most Christian Majesty, which is believed to have been signed the 15th of August, and wherein it is pretended there are conditions relative to England, he had very good reasons; First, The King's dignity required him to manifest his just resentment of the little management, or, to speak more properly, of the insulting manner, with which all the affairs of Spain have been treated during Mr. Pitt's administration; who, finding himself convinced of the justice which

* This is another compliment paid to Mr. Pitt, by another Spanish minister.

supported the King in his pretensions, his ordinary and last answer was, That he would not relax in any thing, till the Tower of London was taken sword in hand.

Besides, his Majesty was much shocked to hear the haughty and imperious tone, with which the contents of the treaty were demanded of him. If the respect due to his royal Majesty, had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty: the ministers of Spain might have said frankly to those of England, what the Count de Fuentes, by the King's express order, declares publicly, *viz.* That the said treaty is only a convention between the family of Bourbon, wherein there is nothing which has the least relation to the present war: That there is in it an article for the mutual guarantry of the dominions of the two Sovereigns; but it is specified therein, that that guarantry is not to be understood but of the dominions which shall remain to France, after the present war shall be ended: That although his Catholic Majesty might have had reason to think himself offended, by the irregular manner in which the memorial was returned to M. de Buffy, minister of France, which he had presented, for terminating the differences of Spain and England, at the same time with the war between this last and France, he has however dissembled; and from an effect of his love of peace, caused a memorial to be delivered to my Lord Bristol, wherein it is evidently demonstrated, that the step of France, which put the minister Pitt into so bad humour, did not at all offend either the laws of neutrality, or the sincerity of the two Sovereigns: That further, from a fresh proof of his pacific spirit, the King of Spain wrote to the King of France, his cousin, That if the union of interest, in any manner retarded the peace with England, he consented to separate himself from it, not to put an obstacle to so great a happiness. But it was soon seen that this was only a pretence, on the part of the English minister: For, That of France, continuing his negotiation, without making any mention of Spain, and proposing conditions very advantageous and honourable for England, the minister Pitt, to the great astonishment of the universe, rejected them with disdain; and shewed, at the same time, his ill-will against Spain, to the scandal of the same British council; and unfortunately he has succeeded but too far in his pernicious design.

This declarations made, the Count de Fuentes desires his Excellency, my Lord Egremont, to present his most humble respects to his Britannic Majesty; and to obtain for him passports, and all other facilities, for him, his family, and all his retinue, to go out of the dominions of Great-Britain, without any trouble, and to go by the short passage of the sea, which separates them from the continent.

Translation of the answer delivered to the Count de Fuentes, by the Earl of Egremont, Dec. 31, 1761.

THE Earl of Egremont, his Britannic Majesty's secretary of state, having received from his Excellency the Count de Fuentes, ambassador of the Catholic King

King at the court of London, a paper, in which, besides the notification of his recall, and the demand of the necessary passports to go out of the King's dominions, he has thought proper to enter into what has just passed between the two courts, with a view to make that of London appear as the source of all the misfortunes which may ensue from the rupture which has happened. In order that no body may be misled, by the declaration which his Excellency has been pleased to make to the King, to the English nation, and to the whole universe; notwithstanding the insinuation, as void of foundation as of decency, of the spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which his Excellency pretends reigns in the British government, to the misfortune of mankind; and, notwithstanding the irregularity and indecency of appealing to the English nation, as if it could be separated from its King, for whom the most determined sentiments of love, of duty, and of confidence, are engraved in the hearts of all his subjects; the said Earl of Egremont, by his Majesty's order, laying aside, in this answer, all spirit of declamation, and of harshness, avoiding every offensive word, which might hurt the dignity of Sovereigns, without stooping to invectives against private persons, will confine himself to facts with the most scrupulous exactness: and it is from this representation of facts, that he appeals to all Europe, and to the whole universe, for the purity of the King's intentions, and for the sincerity of the wishes his Majesty has not ceased to make, as well as for the moderation he has always shewed, though in vain, for the maintenance of friendship and good understanding between the British and Spanish nations.

The King having received undoubted informations, That the court of Madrid had secretly contracted engagements with that of Versailles, which the ministers of France laboured to represent, in all the courts of Europe, as offensive to Great Britain; and combining these appearances with the step which the court of Spain had, a little time before, taken, towards his Majesty, in avowing its consent, (though that avowal had been followed by apologies) to the memorial presented the 23d of July, by the Sieur de Buffy, minister plenipotentiary of the most Christian King, to the King's secretary of state; and his Majesty having afterwards received intelligence, scarce admitting a doubt, of troops marching, and of military preparations making in all the ports of Spain, judged that his dignity, as well as his prudence, required him to order his ambassador at the court of Madrid, by a dispatch dated the 28th of October, *to demand, in terms, the most measured, however, the most amicable, a communication of the treaty recently concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, or, at least, of the articles which might relate to the interest of Great Britain;* And, in order to avoid every thing which could be thought to imply the least slight of the dignity, or even the delicacy, of his Catholic Majesty, the Earl of Bristol was authorised to *content himself with assurances,* in case the Catholic King offered to give any, that the said engagements did not contain any thing that was contrary to the friendship which subsisted between the two crowns, or that was prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain, *supposing that any difficulty was made, of shewing the*
treaty

treaty. The King could not give a less equivocal proof of his dependance on the good faith of the Catholic King, than in shewing him an unbounded confidence in so important an affair, and which so essentially interested his own dignity, the good of his kingdoms, and the happiness of his people.

How great then was the King's surprise, when, instead of receiving the just satisfaction which he had a right to expect, he learnt from his ambassador, that, having addressed himself to the minister of Spain for that purpose, he could only draw from him a refusal, to give a satisfactory answer to his Majesty's just requisitions, which he had accompanied with terms that breathed nothing but haughtiness, animosity, and menace, and which seemed so strongly to verify the suspicions of the unamicable disposition of the court of Spain, that nothing less than his Majesty's moderation, and his resolution taken to make all the efforts possible, to avoid the misfortunes inseparable from a rupture, could determine him to make a last trial, by giving orders to his ambassador, to address himself to the minister of Spain, to desire him to inform him of the intentions of the court of Madrid, towards that of Great Britain, in this conjuncture, if they had taken engagements, or formed the design to join the King's enemies in the present war, or to depart in any manner from the neutrality they had hitherto observed; and to make that minister sensible, that, if they persisted in refusing all satisfaction, on demands so just, so necessary, and so interesting, the King could not but consider such a refusal as the most authentic avowal, that Spain had taken her part, and that there only remained for his Majesty to take the measures, which his royal prudence should dictate, for the honour and dignity of his crown, and for the prosperity and protection of his people: and to recall his ambassador.

Unhappily for the public tranquillity, for the interest of the two nations, and for the good of mankind, this last step was as fruitless as the preceding ones; the Spanish minister, keeping no further measures, answered drily, "That it was in That very moment, that the war was declared, and the King's dignity attacked, and that the Earl of Bristol might retire, how, and when, he should think proper."

And in order to set in its true light, the declaration, "That, if the respect due to his Catholic Majesty had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty; and that the ministers of Spain might have said frankly, as M. de Fuentes, by the King's express order, declares publicly, That the said treaty is only a convention between the family of Bourbon; wherein there is nothing which has the least relation to the present war; and that the guaranty, which is therein specified, is not to be understood but of the dominions which shall remain to France after the war." It is declared, that, very far from thinking of being wanting to the respect acknowledged to be due to crowned heads, the instructions given to the Earl of Bristol have always been, to make the requisitions on the subject of the engagements between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, with all the decency, and all the attention possible: and the demand of a categorical answer was not made, till after repeated

repeated and the most stinging refusals to give the least satisfaction, and at the last extremity. Therefore, if the court of Spain ever had the design to give this so necessary satisfaction, they had not the least reason that ought to have engaged them to defer it to the moment when it could no longer be of use. But, fortunately, the terms in which the declaration is conceived, spare us the regret of not having received it sooner; for it appears, at first sight, that the answer is not at all conformable to the demand. We wanted to be informed, if the court of Spain intended to join the French, our enemies, to make war on Great Britain; or to depart from their neutrality? Whereas the answer concerns one treaty only, which is said to be of the 15th of August; carefully avoiding to say the least word that could explain, in any manner, the intentions of Spain towards Great Britain, or the further engagements they may have contracted in the present crisis.

After a deduction as exact as faithful of what has passed between the two courts, it is left to the impartial public to decide, which of the two has always been inclined to peace, and which was determined on war.

As to the rest, the Earl of Egremont has the honour to acquaint his Excellency the Count de Fuentes, by the King's order, That the necessary passports for him shall be expedited; and that they will not fail to procure him all possible facilities for his passage to the port which he shall think most convenient.

The following Anecdote was published in all the Public Prints, about a Year after Mr. Pitt's Resignation.

“THE King of Prussia, by means of Lord Chatham, obtained the pardon of George Keith, Lord Mareschal of Scotland, from the late King George. Lord Chatham improved upon this; and as Lord Mareschal was well known to the grandees of Spain, and they believed him to be in their interest; as at that time he was the Prussian minister at that court, they communicated the Family compact to him, and he, as in duty bound to his new Sovereign, communicated the same to Lord Chatham, then Mr. Secretary Pitt. This alludes to Lord Chatham's being *certainly* apprized of the *secret*. When his Lordship proposed the seizing the galleons, he was opposed in council, and sneered at by Lord Bute in particular; and being questioned concerning his information, he, with reluctance, shewed the letters from Lord Mareschal. Upon which the late Lord Hardwicke observed, that a halter was once round that nobleman's neck, but now more sure; alluding to his returning to Spain, where they would put him to death. Lord Mareschal was then on shipboard at Portsmouth, on his way to Spain; Lord Egremont wrote to him; upon which he returned and went, by the way of Holland, to his government of Neuf Chatel, without going to Spain, where he has never been since; the end proved the information true, and that Lord Chatham's plan was what ought to have been adopted.”

Whatever

Whatever truth there may be in the above anecdote, it is certain, that Mr. Stanley, while at Paris, in the year 1760, where the Family Compact was negotiated, transmitted to Mr. Pitt a tolerable good account of it, and a *complete copy* of that part which most materially affected Great Britain. He left Paris, as may be seen by the papers relative to the negotiation, on the 20th of September.

Translation of a Letter from M. Bougainville, Member of the Academy of Sciences, to the Right Hon. William Pitt.

S I R,

THE honours paid, during your ministry, to the memory of M. Wolfe, give me room to hope, that you will not disapprove of the grateful efforts made by the French troops to perpetuate the memory of the Marquis de Montcalm. The corpse of that General, who was honoured with the regret of your nation, is buried at Quebec. I have the honour to send you an epitaph which the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres have wrote for him: and I would beg the favour of you, Sir, to read it over, and if there be nothing improper in it, to procure me a permission to send it to Quebec, engraved in marble, to be put over the Marquis de Montcalm's tomb. If this permission should be granted, may I presume, Sir, to intreat the honour of a line to acquaint me with it, and at the same time to send me a passport, that the engraved marble may be received on board an English vessel, and that Mr. Murray, governor of Quebec, may give leave to have it put up in the Ursuline church. I ask pardon, Sir, for taking off your attention, even for a moment, from your important concerns: but to endeavour to immortalise great men and illustrious citizens, is to do honour to you.

I am, &c.

BOUGAINVILLE.

Paris, March 24, 1761.

Mr. Pitt's Answer.

S I R,

IT is a real satisfaction to me to send you the King's consent on such an interesting subject, as the very handsome epitaph drawn by the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris for the Marquis de Montcalm, which is desired to be sent to Quebec, engraved on marble, to be set up on the tomb of that illustrious warrior. The noble sentiments expressed in the desire to pay this tribute to the memory of their General, by the French troops who served in Canada, and who saw him fall at their head, in a manner worthy of him, and worthy of them, cannot be too much applauded.

I shall take a pleasure, Sir, in facilitating a design so full of respect to the deceased; and as soon as I am informed of the measures taken for embarking the

the marble, I shall immediately grant the passport you desire, and send orders to the Governor of Canada for its reception.

As to the rest, be assured, Sir, that I have a just sense of the obliging things said to me in the letter with which you honoured me, and that I think it a singular happiness to have an opportunity to express those sentiments of distinguished esteem and consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c.

April 10, 1761.

W. PITT.

The Inscription is as follows.

HIC JACET,

Utroque in orbe æternum victurus,

Ludovicus Josephus de MONTCALM GOZON,

Marchio Sancti Verani, Baro Gabriaci,

Ordinis Sancti Ludovici commendator,

Legatus generalis exercituum Gallicorum;

Egregius et cives et miles;

Nullius rei appetens, præterquam veræ laudis;

Ingenio felici et litteris exculso

Omnes militiæ gradus per continua decora

emenfus,

Omnium belli artium, temporum, discriminum

gnarus,

In Italia, in Bohemia, in Germania

dux industrius,

Mandata sibi ita semper gerens ut majoribus

par haberetur;

Jam clarus periculis

Ad tutandam Canadensem provinciam missus,

Parvâ militum manu hostium copias non semel

repulit;

Propugnacula cepit viris armisque instructissima;

Algoris, inediæ, vigiliarum, laboris patiens,

Suis unice prospiciens, immemor sui;

Hostis acer, victor mansuetus,

Fortunam virtute, virium inopiam peritia et celeritate

compensavit:

Imminens coloniæ fatum et consilio et manu per qua-

driennium sustinuit,

Tandem ingentem exercitum duce strenuo et audaci,

Classemque omni bellorum mole gravem,

Multiplici prudentia diu ludificatus,

Vi pertractus ad dimicandum

In primâ acie, in primo conflictu, vulneratus,
 Religioni, quam semper coluerat, innitens,
 Magnò suorum desiderio, nec sine hostium mœrore,
 extinctus est

Die xiv Septembr. A. D. mdcclix. ætatis xlviii.

Mortales optimi ducis exuvias in excavatâ humo,
 Quam globus bellicus decidens dissiliensque
 defoderat,

Galli lugentes deposuerunt,
 Et generosæ hostium fidei commendârunt

TRANSLATION.

Here lieth,

In either Hemisphere to live for ever,
LEWIS JOSEPH DE MONTCALM GOZON,

Marquis of St. Veran, Baron of Gabriac,
 Commendatory of the Order of St. Lewis,
 Lieutenant General of the French Army,
 Not less an excellent Citizen than Soldier;

Who knew no Desire but that of true Glory;

Happy in a natural Genius improved by Literature,

Having gone through the several Steps of military Honours

With uninterrupted Lustre,

Skill'd in all the Arts of War,

The Juncture of Times, and the Crisis of Dangers,

In Italy, in Bohemia, in Germany,

An indefatigable General,

He so discharged his important Trusts,

That he seem'd always equal to still greater.

At length grown bright with Perils,

Sent to secure the Province of Canada,

With a Handful of Men

He more than once repulsed the Enemy's Forces,

And made himself Master of their Forts

Replete with Troops and Ammunition.

Inured to Cold, Hunger, Watchings and Labours,

Unmindful of Himself,

He had no Sensation but for his Soldiers.

An Enemy with the fiercest Impetuosity;

A Victor with the tenderest Humanity.

Adverse Fortune he compensated with Valour,

The Want of Strength with Skill and Activity;

And,

And, with his Counsel and Support,
 For Four Years protracted the impending
 Fate of the Colony,
 Having with various Artifices
 Long baffled a great Army,
 Headed by an expert and intrepid Commander,
 And a Fleet furnished with all warlike Stores,
 Compelled at length to an Engagement,
 He fell, in the first Rank, in the first Onset,
 Warm with those Hopes of Religion which he had always cherished,
 To the inexpressible loss of his own Army,
 And not without the Regret of the Enemy's,
 XXIV. September, A. D. MDCCLIX, of his
 Age XLVIII.
 His weeping Countrymen
 Deposited the Remains of their excellent General
 In a Grave,
 Which a fallen Bomb in bursting had excavated for him,
 Recommending them to the generous Faith of their Enemies.

*Mr. Pitt's Letter to General Monckton, Governor of New York, accompanied with the
 Red Ribband, for General, now Lord Amherst.*

NEW YORK.

His Excellency Major General Monckton, Governor of New York, and several
 officers of the army being present, Major General Monckton read Mr. Se-
 cretary Pitt's Letter, as follows :

SIR,

Whitehall, July 17, 1761.

“ HIS Majesty having been graciously pleased, as a mark of his royal ap-
 probation of the many and eminent services of Major General Amherst, to no-
 minate him to be one of the Knight Companions of the most Honourable
 Order of the Bath; and it being necessary that he should be invested with the
 Ensigns of the said Order, which are transmitted to him by this opportunity; I
 am to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you should perform that cere-
 mony; and it being his Majesty's intention, that the same be done in the most
 honorable and distinguished manner that circumstances will allow of, you will
 concert and adjust with General Amherst, such time and manner, for investing
 him with the Ensigns of the Order of the Bath, as shall appear to you most
 proper for shewing all due respect to the King's Order, and as may, at the same
 time, mark in the most public manner, his Majesty's just sense of the constant
 zeal,

zeal, and signal abilities, which General Amherst has exerted in the service of his King and country.

I am, &c.
Hon. Rob. Monckton. W. PITT."

Major General Monckton then proceeded to put the ribbon over Sir Jeffery Amherst's shoulder, making an apology, that circumstances would not admit of a more formal investiture.

Sir Jeffery Amherst, upon receiving this Order, addressed himself to Major General Monckton, in the following terms:

"Sir, I am truly sensible of this distinguishing mark of his Majesty's royal approbation of my conduct, and shall ever esteem it as such; and I must beg leave to express to you the peculiar satisfaction I have, and the pleasure it gives me, to receive this mark of favour from your hands."

As it is possible that the argument for keeping possession of the French West India Islands may, at some future period, be revived, it is presumed the reader will not be displeased with the insertion of the following paper. The subject was brought on the tapis by the publication of Comparative Statements of the Importance of Canada and Gaudaloupe: and the question was, Which of those Colonies Great Britain ought to keep, in the negotiation for peace, at that time pending, between Mr. Pitt and M. Buffy?

Copy of a Letter from a Gentleman in Guadaloupe to his Friend in London. August, 1760.

THE different opinions of the people concerning the value of Canada, and the value of Guadaloupe to Great Britain, have occasioned many disputes in private and public, in which private views have too often influenced the debate. Those who are for acquiring all Canada, and giving up Guadaloupe, and every thing else, argue in this manner: That no terms with the French can be secure or lasting; at the very time they are making a peace, they are contriving how to break it, and will do so as soon as any opportunity occurs to do it to advantage: That we entered into the war only upon account of America: That the French invaded our properties there, and were long contriving to do it; now that we have beaten them out of all that country, what we did never claim as well as what we did claim, therefore we ought to keep all America, as the greatest acquisition we can make, or ever was made; for if we allow them the smallest footing even in Canada itself, we can never be secure they will not drive us out of that country: That the trade of North America is the great fountain of all the British wealth and power; that of late years it furnishes and employs so many ships and so many sailors, makes so great a consumpt of the produce of Great Britain, sends so much of its produce to the sugar islands, and
pours

pours in such a tide of wealth from the West Indies upon Britain, as enables her to make the figure she now does to the rest of the world: That if all North America were her own, she could be drawn into no more wars on that account; our trade there would rise to the highest pitch; and that country so extensive, so rich, and full of so many lakes and rivers fit for navigation, would soon raise the power and naval strength of Great Britain to a degree beyond any power on earth.

That the fur trade might be entirely our own; that one ship of the Hudson Bay Company is often so rich as to bring home more value than ten sugar ships: That we have sufficiency of the sugar islands already: That Jamaica alone, if it were properly cultivated, can afford more sugar than England wants; it sends home near 40,000 hogheads every year, when the third part is not cultivated: That Guadaloupe is a place of no significance compared with Jamaica, and could add very little strength or wealth to Great Britain: That the French have long outdone us in the hats; a trade that we may have entirely to ourselves by acquiring Canada; and that if we leave the French the smallest footing or possession there, we never can be secure or safe in the rest, we have done nothing, but must be always liable to repeat the same expence.

Those who wish the keeping of Guadaloupe answer as follows: That Guadaloupe we certainly have, and that Canada we have not; the fate of it is still dubious: That all the reasoning before mentioned is sophistical and unsolid: That the advantages of North America to Britain, exclusive of Canada, are very great: why join them all to Canada, of itself worth little or nothing, but to give it weight, which it has not of itself? If our barrier in America shall be fixed by treaty to the certain limits we insist upon, and Cape Breton retained or demolished, we are in a much better situation there than ever; which would render America of much more advantage to us than it was in former times, and more secure; nay, as secure as the instability of human affairs can admit: the benefit of North America to Britain does not depend upon Canada at all; it is a frothy and false argument, Canada can add nothing, but, first, a little improvement of the fur trade, which might be in very great perfection without it. Secondly, preventing the French from disturbing us in that quarter of the world for some time; and even that argument is equally strong for taking the Mississippi, otherwise it is not conclusive.

But as it is argued, that the French will never be at peace with us, it must follow, that when they cannot make war in America they must disturb us in Europe; now let those gentlemen answer, Whether we have more advantage over the French by a war in America, or a war in Flanders, when they have Ostend, &c. in their hands. The present war, compared with those of King William, Queen Anne, and the war in 1744, soon solves that question. The sugar trade is far preferable to the fur trade. What does a few hats signify, compared with serving ourselves, and other countries, with that article of luxury, sugar; the consumption of which is daily encreasing both in America and Europe, and become one of the necessaries of life. Jamaica has not encreased in
sugars

sugars these thirty years past, and never can encrease much, as the greatest part of it is so mountainous that it is not capable of culture, and cannot answer the expence in many places of carrying the sugars over mountains to be shipt; though they have made a monopoly for themselves of that commodity of a long time past, they must now be the more reluctant to part with it.

It is our sugar islands that raise the value of North America, and pour in such wealth upon the mother-country. The more we have of those islands, America becomes from that cause the more important and valuable, and England the richer. In America we have more than enough; in the sugar islands a great deal too little: the nearer they can be proportioned to one another the better for both, and the more trade and wealth for England. The fur trade does not employ the hundred part of the shipping and seamen, that the sugar trade does.

The having all North America to ourselves by acquiring Canada, dazzles the eyes, and blinds the understandings of the giddy and unthinking people, as it is natural for the human mind to grasp at every appearance of wealth and grandeur: yet it is easy to discover that such a peace might soon ruin Britain. I say the acquisition of Canada would be destructive; because such a country as North America, ten times larger in extent than Britain, richer soil in most places, all the different climates you can fancy, all the lakes and rivers for navigation one could wish, plenty of wood for shipping, and as much iron, hemp, and naval stores, as any part of the world, such a country, at such a distance, could never remain long subject to Britain: you have taught them the art of war, and put arms in their hands, and they can furnish themselves with every thing in a few years without the assistance of Britain. They are always grumbling and complaining against Britain, even while they have the French to dread; what may they not be supposed to do, if the French is no longer a check upon them? You must keep a numerous standing army to overawe them; these troops will soon get wives and possessions, and become Americans. Thus, from these measures, you lay the surest foundation of unpeopling Britain, and strengthening America to revolt: a people who must become more licentious from their liberty, and more factious and turbulent from the distance of the power that rules them. One must be very little conversant in history, and totally unacquainted with the passions and operations of the human mind, who cannot foresee those events as clearly as any thing can be discovered that lye concealed in the womb of time. It is no gift of prophecy; it is only the natural and unavoidable consequences of such and such measures; and must appear so to every man whose head is not too much affected with popular madness, or political enthusiasm.

But without dipping too deep in futurity, pray what can Canada yield to Britain, in this or any subsequent age, but a little extension of the fur trade? Whereas Guadaloupe can furnish as much sugar, cotton, rum, and coffee, as all the islands we have put together, and consume a vast quantity of the British and American produce, from which trade the shipping and naval strength of Britain

Britain must greatly increase: without any allowance for the cinnamon trade, which of itself may bring a good deal of wealth to the mother-country, as we have the wild cinnamon in common with the other islands; so we have also the true genuine cinnamon-tree, and have sent home to England samples of it, as good as any the Dutch have.

The consumption of sugar is daily increasing both in Europe and America, and we cannot at this day serve ourselves with that article; but are we not to endeavour to serve foreign markets if we can? Did ever the French bring half so much wealth to their country from hats, as from their sugar islands? To say we have sugar enough, is to say we have trade enough, a new doctrine truly; and if so, what use have we for Canada? In a word, it is most obvious to every impartial eye, that the increase of the sugar islands is particularly the interest of Britain; she is there too weak, and as those islands bring most wealth both to Britain and America, so from their weakness they can never be in any danger of revolting; and that every person, as soon as he can make a fortune there, comes home to the mother-country and enjoys it: witness the number of the proprietors of the sugar islands that reside at London, and many of them sit in parliament. If they dread Guadaloupe as a rival to their private interest, they must at the same time own, it is a great acquisition to the public wealth and strength. Thus Guadaloupe, one of the greatest acquisitions ever Britain made, acquires many powerful enemies from private views, and has nothing to plead but her public utility and advantage, often found too feeble an opponent to the private interest of a few.

But to conclude, nothing can secure Britain so much against the revolting of North America, as the French keeping some footing there to be a check upon them. If the peace be made with any tolerable attention to our barrier in America, as we may be most certain it will, France must ever after be an enemy too feeble to be dreaded in that corner of the world. But if we were to acquire all Canada, we should soon find North America itself too powerful and too populous to be long governed by us at this distance. We have often, too often, wasted our blood and treasure to raise up other powers to wealth and strength, only to be once our enemies: it were much to be wished that we could take warning, and do so no more.

Guadaloupe is supposed to be capable of producing at least 100,000 hogshheads of sugar every year. Whereas all the British islands are not, upon an average, supposed to exceed the following calculation:

Barbadoes	-	-	-	14,000
Antigua	-	-	-	16,000
Mountserrat	-	-	-	3,000
Nevis	-	-	-	3,500
St. Kitt's	-	-	-	17,000
Anguilla	-	-	-	50
Tortola	-	-	-	2,500
Jamaica	-	-	-	50,000
				105,050

Previous to the General Election in 1761, the Corporation of Bath sent the following Letter to Mr. Pitt.

S I R,

Bath, 6th of Oct. 1760.

" WE the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, of this city, do transmit to you, our most grateful thanks, for exerting your great abilities with so much zeal and unwearied diligence in the service of his Majesty and our country, as hath reflected particular honour on our city. We are convinced we should not do justice to ourselves and brother citizens, if we did not pay that regard which is justly due to your distinguished merit, by taking the earliest opportunity of offering to you the same trust at the next general election; and which we hereby beg the favour of your acceptance of, from,

Gentlemen, your most obliged, and very humble servants."

Mr. Pitt's Answer. St. James's-Square, Oct. 9th, 1760.

Mr. Mayor, and Gentlemen of the Corporation.

" I AM this day honoured with your letter, and cannot defer a moment to express the sentiments of the warmest and most respectful gratitude for such a fresh mark of your condescension and goodness to me, after the many great and unmerited favours which you have already conferred upon me.

" Happy! that my feeble endeavours for the King's service have in your candid interpretation, stood in the place of more effectual deservings; and that, actuated by the generous motives of zealous and steady attachment to his Majesty's Government, you are pleased again to think of committing to me the important and honourable trust of representing you at the next general election.

" Be assured, Gentlemen, that I am justly proud of the title of Servant of the city of Bath, and that I can never sufficiently manifest the deep sense I have of your distinguished and repeated favours, nor express the respect, gratitude, and affection, with which I remain,

Mr. Mayor, and Gentlemen of the Corporation,
Your most faithful and most obliged humble servant,

W. PITT."

BLACKISTON, MAYOR.

At a Court of Common-Council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Thursday, Oct. 22, 1761.

" RESOLVED, That the thanks of this Court be given to the Right Hon. William Pitt, for the many great and eminent services rendered this nation during the

the time he so ably filled the high and important office of one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and to perpetuate their grateful sense of his merits, who by the vigour of his mind had not only roused the ancient spirit of this nation, from the pusillanimous state, to which it had been reduced; but, by his integrity and steadiness uniting us at home, had carried its reputation in arms and commerce to a height unknown before, by our trade accompanying our conquests in every quarter of the globe.

"Therefore the City of London, ever steadfast in their loyalty to their King and attentive to the honour and prosperity of their country, cannot but lament the national loss of so able, so faithful, a Minister at this critical conjuncture."

At a Common Council held at Guildhall, on Thursday, Oct. 29, 1761, the Town Clerk reported his having waited on the right Hon. William Pitt, with their resolutions of thanks, to which he had been pleased to return the following Answer:

MR. PITT requests of Sir James Hodges, That he will be so good to represent him, in the most respectful manner, to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, and express his high sense of the signal honour which they have been pleased to confer on him, by their condescending and favourable resolution of the 22d of October; an honour which he receives with true reverence and gratitude, not without confusion at his own small deservings, while he views with exultation on the universal public spirit dispersed through an united people; and the matchless intrepidity of the British sailors and soldiers conducted by officers justly famed through all the quarters of the world: To this concurrence of national virtue, graciously protected by the Throne, all the national prosperities (under the favour of Heaven) has been owing; and it will ever be remembered to the glory of the City of London, that through the whole course of this arduous war, the great seat of commerce has generously set the illustrious example of steady zeal for the dignity of the Crown, and of unshaken firmness and magnanimity.

Exeter, October, 29, 1761.

At a Chamber it was unanimously Resolved,

THAT the thanks of this body be given to the Right Hon. William Pitt, late one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, for the important services rendered this kingdom during his happy administration of publick affairs: And to assure him, that they shall ever retain an exalted and grateful sense of his merit and great abilities, whose wisdom, and truly British spirit, animated and excited the hearts of the nation when sunk into a state of timidity and despondence; restored its ancient lustre, and raised our commercial interest, together with our

military glory, to a sublimity of dignity and honour, never experienced, nor even known before.

Ever firmly loyal to our King and country, we cannot, therefore, but bewail, at this grand crisis, the national loss of so able a minister.

The following Letter was sent by the Right Hon. William Pitt, to Benjamin Heath, Esq. Town Clerk of the City of Exeter, in answer to the above Resolution.

SIR,

Hayes, Nov. 6, 1761.

I DESIRE you will be so good to present to Mr. Mayor, and to the chamber of Exeter, my respectful and grateful acknowledgements for the distinguished honour which they have been pleased to confer upon me (p. 438.) Conscious of no title to such eminent favour, I can only feel more sensibly the extent of their indulgence; and forming, as I do, unceasing vows for the continuation of those public blessings which have attended national union, I shall ever particularly rejoice, among the general prosperities of my country, in the increase of the trade, opulence, and lustre, of the city of Exeter.

Accept, yourself, Sir, my thanks for the very obliging manner in which you have communicated to me the resolution of the Chamber.

I am, with regard, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

W. PITT.

Chester, October 30, 1761.

At an Assembly holden before the Worshipful the Mayor, Thomas Cholmondeley, Esq. and Knight of the Shire, the Recorder and Magistracy, the Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Common Council, this day it was unanimously, Resolved,

“ THAT the thanks of this House be given to the Right Hon. William Pitt, late one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, for his eminent and effectual services to his King and country; and that he be assured, that this ancient and loyal city does most heartily concur in the opinion and recent resolution of the Common Council of the very respectable metropolis.

“ As also, that we deeply share in the general anxiety, and concern, that Great Britain by a rational resignation, is, at this time, deprived of a minister, whose salutary counsels, steady conduct, and truly patriot spirit had retrieved the honour of these nations, rendered us happily unanimous at home, and gloriously formidable to our adversaries abroad.

Ordered likewise,

“ That Thomas Cholmondeley, Esq. Mayor, the Right Hon. the Lord Grosvenor, and Thomas Grosvenor, Esq. Alderman, together with Richard Wilbraham

braham Bootle, Esq. be desired to express to Mr. Pitt, these our sentiments of abundant gratitude, and high regard. Given under our common seal, this," &c.

Mr. Pitt's answer to the City of Chester.

MR. PITT begs leave to represent, in the most respectful terms, to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of Chester, the extent of those true sentiments of lasting gratitude, with which he receives so honourable and so affecting a mark of the approbation and countenance of that great and eminent city; in whose welfare he must ever feel himself most particularly interested.

Deeply sensible how small his part has been in that series of successes, which, under Providence, are the genuine fruits of national harmony, and of public virtue, he ardently prays, that the continuance of the same happy spirit may effectually enable his Majesty to surmount, with accumulated glories, whatever obstacles remain, to the establishment of peace upon solid, honourable, and adequate conditions.

York, November 6, 1761.

"RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Commons of the city of York, in Common Council assembled, be presented to the Right Hon. William Pitt, for the signal advantages this nation has derived from his upright, wise, and vigorous administration; to which, under Providence, we owe the revival of the ancient British spirit, the acquisition of the most valuable and important conquests, and the abolition of party distinctions. The loss of so able, so disinterested a Statesman, who so happily united the characters of the great minister and the true patriot, cannot but be deeply regretted at this critical conjuncture by every well-wisher to his King and country."

Presented (for the Town Clerk) by Mr. Strangways, of Gray's-Inn.

Mr. Pitt's Answer.

MR. PITT desires Mr. Strangways will be so good to represent to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Commons of the city of York, in Common Council assembled, with what true respect and lively gratitude he receives the conspicuous mark of honour, which they have condescended to confer on him, by their approbation, confidence, and favour. Justly sensible how little he has deserved, he can never enough admire and venerate that love for the public good, which has inspired universal concord at home, and an unconquerable spirit in arms abroad. To these alone all the signal advantages of this nation, in every quarter of the globe, are, under Providence, to be ascribed. He devoutly im-

plores the happy continuance of the same united zeal for the honour of the crown, and for the extension of the commerce and power of Great Britain; forming continual wishes for the prosperity and splendour of the ancient and respectable city of York.

Bath, December 18, 1761.

From the Mayor and Corporation.

A Letter of Thanks from the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Bath to the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt, for the great Services which he has rendered to his King and Country during his late upright and able Administration.

S I R,

Bath, Dec. 18, 1761.

HAD it not been for the particular relation in which we have the honour to stand towards you, we should have perhaps been still content, as others are, to enjoy in silence those fervours of gratitude, which every truly British heart must feel for the great and unparalleled services, which you have done your King and country throughout the course of your late ministry.

It is true, that after so ample and so honourable a testimony borne to them by your Royal Master himself, it would be extremely vain in us to think that any thing could be wanting to the glory of a character thus illustriously established. But though we can add nothing to you, we have ventured to employ this occasion to do credit to ourselves, in that light we are most ambitious to be seen, of faithful and loyal subjects: for in these expressions of our great regard to you, we have only presumed to follow the gracious example of the best of Kings.

For the rest, there is no station where you can be found, in which your country will not need, and will not be sure to have, your most effectual assistance.

We have nothing, Sir, further to offer, but our ardent prayers for your health, a blessing so precious and so important to the public.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most faithful and affectionate Servants.

Mr. Pitt's Answer.

MR. MAYOR,

Hayes, Dec. 22, 1761.

I HAVE received the particular honour of a letter signed by you, Sir, and by a great number of other Gentlemen, of the Corporation, containing the most condescending and endearing marks of personal regard and favour towards me, and at the same time bestowing on such inconsiderable efforts, as I have been able to exert in the service of my King and country, testimonies of so distinguished and honourable a nature, that I can only accept them with confusion, joined to unceasing gratitude.

Allow

Allow me, Mr. Mayor, to intreat that you will please to communicate to the other Gentlemen of the Corporation these my most unfeigned and respectful acknowledgements; and to assure them of my ardent and continual wishes for the prosperity of the city of Bath, and for the particular welfare and happiness of the several Members of that ancient and considerable Corporation.

I am, with the warmest sentiments of regard and respectful consideration,

Sir, your most obedient,

And most obliged humble servant,

W. PITT.

Mr. Pitt's Answer to the Thanks of the City of Norwich.

To Sir Thomas Churchman, Knt. Mayor of Norwich.

S I R,

I HAVE this day had the honour to receive from Mr. Harbord (now Lord Suffield) and Mr. Bacon the very undeserved and condescending mark of approbation and favour, which the Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens, and Commonalty of the city of Norwich have been pleased to confer upon me.

Allow me, Sir, to entreat you to lay before that body my truest sentiments of respect and gratitude, for such a distinguished additional testimony of their goodness and indulgence towards me.

Ascribing, as I do, the public successes (under Providence) to national union at home, and to that superior spirit and conduct which have so signally displayed themselves in his Majesty's fleets and armies abroad, I cannot but feel, with just confusion, that unlimited partiality which would too generously rank my feeble endeavours in the place of real services. I implore the continuance of the diffusive blessing of concord, and shall, in particular, ever form the sincerest wishes for the trade and prosperity of that eminent seat of such extensive and beneficial manufactures, the city of Norwich.

I am, with the truest respect and unalterable attachment,

Sir, your most obedient,

And obliged humble servant,

St. James's-Square, March 9, 1762.

W. PITT.

Stirling, November, 1761.

On the 12th Instant Admiral Holburn, Member of Parliament for Stirling, &c. waited on the Right Hon. William Pitt, lately one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and delivered to him, at London, the following Letter of Thanks from the Magistrates,

Magistrates, Town Council, Guildry, and seven other Royal Corporations of the said Burrough, for the many great and eminent Services rendered by him to his King and Country, while he filled with Ability his late high and important Office.

S I R,

SOME years ago, when these kingdoms were in the greatest distress, and held the lowest rank in the opinion of many of the states of Europe, you was called into the administration, which was thought but too soon taken out of your hands, to the grief of all lovers of their country, and was expressed in addresses to you from many cities and corporations; at which time I had the honour to transmit to you the sentiments of the Guildry of this place, to which you was pleased to make an obliging return. Not long after we found you restored, by the favour of the Sovereign, to the chief place in the ministry, to the universal joy of the people. As they hoped, so you proved the chief instrument in restoring of public credit, and, under your direction, trade flourished in the midst of war, victory and conquest attended his Majesty's arms in all quarters of the world: and while the nations around felt the dire calamities of war, we in these kingdoms may be said to have enjoyed perfect peace; at the same time, the destruction of the enemy's marine freed us from the dismal apprehension of invasion, and enabled to retort upon the enemy; but while we gratefully looked back on the past, and indulged ourselves with future pleasing prospects, our spirits were suddenly damped by your late unexpected resignation.

The Magistrates and Town Council of this burgh having your distinguished talent and eminent services to your King and country under view, did unanimously (and with the joint concurrence of the Guildry, and seven other Royal Corporations assembled for that purpose, to testify their esteem of superior merit) arise and appoint me as Preses of the Council and Dean of the Guildry, to offer you their heartiest thanks, and to declare their unfeigned approbation of your distinguished administration; and, with the greatest pleasure, I in their name do thank you, Sir, for the many great and eminent services rendered to your King and country, during the time you filled with ability the high and important office of one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; who revived the ancient spirit of this nation from its despondency, uniting the nation at home, and extending its power and commerce throughout the globe; and we have no doubt of your continuing to influence the Senate and Councils of the nation, upon the same patriotic principles which have so eminently distinguished you in your public character.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ANDREW WALLACE.

Mr. Pitt's Answer, addressed to Andrew Wallace, Esq. of Stirling.

S I R,

St. James's-Square, Nov. 12, 1761.

I AM honoured with your most obliging letter of the 27th of October, and it is with impatience that I desire the favour of you, to lay before the Magistrates and

and Town Council of Stirling, together with the Guildry, and seven other Royal Corporations, the deep and lively impressions fixed upon my heart, by the distinguished honour which they have been pleased to confer on me, and to entreat their favourable acceptance of the most warm returns of my respectable gratitude for this signal additional testimony of their approbation and indulgence. Let me further beg leave to offer, through you, Sir, the assurance of my unfeigned wishes for the prosperity and happiness of the town of Stirling, and of the seven Royal Corporations; and allow me to add my sincere acknowledgments to yourself personally, for the obliging and kind manner in which you are so good to communicate a resolution so partial and so full of honour to me.

I am, Sir,

With the greatest truth and regard, &c.

W. PITT.

To the Right Hon. William Pitt, Esq. late one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

The grateful Address of the Merchants and Traders of the City of Dublin.

WE his Majesty's most loyal, dutiful, and affectionate subjects, the Merchants, Traders, and other Citizens of the city of Dublin, whose names are underwritten, judge these kingdoms too deeply interested in your withdrawing from the high station you have lately so eminently and greatly filled, to the honour and satisfaction of the crown and the subjects, to let so important an event pass over in silence.

Though thus far removed from the great scene of action, we sensibly felt the manifold good effects of your truly patriot and singularly wise and upright administration.

To this we must attribute the rescuing Britain from the shameful infection of that pestilential, ministerial panic, which called foreign mercenaries to the defence of a country, by her native force, when properly exerted, more than a match for half the powers of Europe.

To your steady virtues, we stand indebted for freeing our mother-country from the reproach of calling foreign troops to defend her from a threatened invasion, and for chastizing the insolence of the vaunting invader, by inspiring the councils and arms of Britain with that ancient true national spirit, which, when duly exerted, ever has, and ever must render the British name terrible to her foes in the utmost extremities of the globe.

Under such an administration we must always see, instead of private interest, merit, the only recommendation to places of important trust. By such measures as these it is, that we have seen commerce accompanying conquest to the remotest parts of the earth; while faction was silenced, and jarring parties reconciled and united at home.

Thus,

Thus, Sir, have your steady patriot virtues raised monuments to your fame more durable than marble or brass.

As the enemies of these kingdoms never had so great cause to exult, as they have from your withdrawing yourself from the sphere, in which alone you could render these unspeakably great services to your country; so the true friends of these kingdoms never had more just cause to mourn.

We should, therefore, think ourselves wanting in duty to our patriot King, to our mother-country, as well as our native, did we omit giving this public testimony of our sense of the loss which all sustain, by the withdrawing of a minister of such matchless abilities and equal fidelity, at so important and critical a conjuncture as the present.

Indulge us thus, great Sir, in venting our griefs and blending our tears with those of the rest of our mourning brethren and fellow-subjects in Britain, as well as in other parts of this kingdom. Accept our most hearty and unfeigned acknowledgements for the unspeakable services and lasting honours you have already done your native country, and all the dominions of the Crown of Britain. And give us leave to assure you, that we shall ever admire, and ever with profound respect and gratitude remember, the unparalleled virtues that have so eminently distinguished your administration.

Mr. Pitt's Answer to the Cork Address.

S I R,

St. James's-Square, June 24, 1762.

" I HAVE received the very great honour of a letter from you, having the common seal of the city of Cork affixed to it; and must intreat the favour of you to represent for me, in the most expressive terms, to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Commonalty of that great city, the just sentiments of respect and gratitude, with which I receive marks so highly honourable, of their favourable interpretation of my conduct.

" As I am truly sensible how very little my feeble endeavours can have contributed to that series of successes, which (under Providence) are owing to happy national concord, and to unexampled spirit and conduct in the British arms, I can only attribute to unlimited partiality, the unmerited testimony of public approbation, which that eminent trading city has been pleased to confer upon me.

" Under the warmest impressions of repeated obligations, and full of unfeigned attachment, I shall ever cherish with pride the pleasing remembrance of such favours, and form unceasing wishes for the trade and prosperity of the city of Cork.

" Give me leave, Sir, to add the expressions of my sincere acknowledgments for the trouble you have so obligingly taken on this occasion.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

WILLIAM PITT.

[There were several others.]

Letters

Letters between Mr. Pitt to Mr. Allen.

DEAR SIR,

Hayes, June 2, 1763.

HAVING declined accompanying Sir John Seabright in presenting the address from Bath, transmitted to us jointly by the Town Clerk *, I think it, on all accounts, indispensably necessary that I should inform you of the reason of my conduct. The epithet of adequate given to the peace contains a description of the conditions of it, so repugnant to my unalterable opinion concerning many of them, and fully declared by me in parliament, that it was as impossible for me to obey the corporation's commands in presenting their address, as it was unexpected to receive such a commission. As to my opinion of the peace, I will only say that I formed it with sincerity according to such lights as my little experience, and small portion of understanding, could afford me. This conviction must remain to myself the constant rule of my conduct; and I leave to others, with much deference to their better information, to follow their own judgment. Give me leave, my dear good Sir, to desire to convey, through you, to Mr. Mayor, and to the gentlemen of the corporation, these my free sentiments; and with the justest sense of their past goodness towards me, plainly to confess that I perceive I am but ill-qualified to form pretensions to the future favour of gentlemen, who are come to think so differently from me, on matters of the highest importance to the national welfare.

I am ever, with respectful and affectionate esteem,

My dear Sir, your faithful friend,

And obliged humble servant.

Signed W. PITT.

Lady Chatham joins with me in all compliments to the family of Prior Park.

To Ralph Allen, Esq.

* The address was in these words :

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

" We the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the antient and loyal city of Bath, do
" beg leave to congratulate, and most humbly to thank your Majesty for an adequate and advanta-
" geous peace, which you have graciously procured for your people, after a long and very expensive,
" though necessary and glorious war, which your Majesty, upon your accession to the Throne,
" found your kingdoms engaged in.

" And we take the liberty to assure your Majesty, that upon all occasions we shall be ready to give
" the most evident proofs of the truest zeal and duty, which the most dutiful subjects can testify to
" the most gracious and best of Princes.

" In testimony whereof we have hereunto affixed our common seal, the 28th day of May, 1763."

MY DEAREST SIR,

Prior Park, June 4, 1763.

IT is extremely painful to me to find by the letter which you was pleased to send to me the second of this month, that the word adequate, in the Bath address, has been so very offensive to you as to hinder the sincerest and most zealous of your friends, in the Corporation, from testifying, for the future their great attachment to you.

Upon this occasion in justice to them, it is incumbent on me to acquaint you, that the exceptionable word does not rest with them, but myself; who suddenly drew up that address to prevent their sending off another which the Mayor brought to me in terms that I could not concur in; copies of the two forms I have taken the liberty to send to you in the inclosed paper for your private perusal; and Sir John Seabright having in his letter to Mr. Clutterbuck only acquainted him, that in your absence in the country he delivered the address, I shall decline executing of your commands to the corporation on this delicate point, unless you renew them, upon your perusal of this letter, which for safety I have sent by a messenger, and I beg your answer to it, by him who has orders to wait for it.

Permit me to say that I have not the least of objection to, but, the highest regard and even veneration for your whole conduct; neither have I any apology to make for the expression in which I am so unfortunate to differ from you. And with the utmost respect, affection, and gratitude, you will always find me to be,

My dearest Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant.

To the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt.

Signed R. ALLEN.

The best wishes of this family always attend Lady Chatham.

R. A.

MY DEAR SIR,

Hayes, June 5, 1763.

I AM sorry that my letter of the 2d instant should give you uneasiness, and occasion to you the trouble of sending a messenger to Hayes. I desire you to be assured, that few things can give me more real concern than to find that my notions of the public good differ so widely from those of the man, whose goodness of heart and private virtues I shall ever respect and love. I am not insensible to your kind motives for wishing to interpose time for second thoughts; but knowing how much you approve an open and ingenuous proceeding, I trust that you will see the unfitness of my concealing from my constituents the insurmountable reasons, which prevented my obeying their commands in presenting an address, containing a disavowal of my opinion, delivered in parliament relating to the peace. As their servant, I owe to these Gentlemen an explanation of my conduct on this occasion; and as a man not forgetful of the distinguished honour of having been invited to represent them, I owe it, in gratitude, to them, not to think of embarrassing and encumbering, for the future, friends to whom I have such obligations; and who now view with approbation measures of an administration, founded

on

on the subversion of that system which once procured me the countenance and favour of the city of Bath. On these plain grounds, very coolly weighed, I will venture to beg again that my equitable, good friend will be so good to convey to Mr. Mayor and the Gentlemen of the Corporation my sentiments, as contained in my letter of the 2d instant.

I am ever, with unchanging sentiments of respect and affection,

My dear Sir, most faithfully yours,

W. PITT.

MY DEAREST SIR,

Prior Park, June 9, 1763.

WITH the greatest anxiety and concern I have, in obedience to your positive and repeated commands, executed the most painful commission that I ever received.

Upon this disagreeable occasion give me leave just to say, that however different our abilities may be, it is the duty of every honest man, after he has made the strictest enquiry, to act pursuant to the light which the Supreme Being has been pleased to dispense to him; and this being the rule that I am persuaded we both govern ourselves by, I shall take the liberty now only to add, that it is impossible for any person to retain higher sentiments of your late glorious administration than I do, nor can be with truer fidelity, zeal, affection, and respect, than I have been, still am, and always shall be,

My dearest Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

To the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt.

Signed R. ALLEN.

The best wishes of this family wait upon Lady Chatham.

The citizens of Corke placed a fine white marble statue of Mr. Pitt, as large as life, in a niche on the Exchange, with the following inscriptions:

“ In honour of Mr. PITT, late Secretary and Minister of State to their Majesties GEORGE II. and III. of Great Britain, who, in a few years of his able and upright administration, restored the honour of the British arms, together with the safety, influence, and glory of his King and country, this statue is erected by the citizens of Corke, anno 1764.” This is on one plate. On another is the following: “ Siste, viator, ubicunque terrarum oriundus. Vera Icon GULIELMI PITT cujus si nomen audies, nihil hic de fama desideres.”

ANECDOTE OF LORD BUTE.

" A CERTAIN noble Lord (Lord Bute) who has uttered many extraordinary things, upon observing the warm professions of duty and affection to our Sovereign, in which every part of the kingdom rivalled another at his accession, said, in the House of Lords in 1761, that it would be the duty of the peculiar situation in which he found himself, to prevent the Nation's complimenting away its liberties to a King who was so much beloved. It is to be hoped, the noble Lord was mistaken, if he thought the people of England would ever put his good offices to the trial; but his administration, either *proper* or *delegated*, has not given a proof that they might have been relied upon.

" Ever since this Favourite, whose influence did not begin, and has not ended with the high office he resigned in 1763, took the ascendant at court, prerogative and the power of the Crown, have been founded in a manner of which there is no example, since the House of Hanover came to the throne, their possession of which is a perpetual tribute to the paramount rights of the PEOPLE, by whose free choice it was conferred. Writers have been hired, not to defend the prerogative, for it was not invaded; not to maintain it, for it was not disputed; but to screw it up beyond the limits within which the constitution has circumscribed it; and an inclination has been visibly manifested to extend the royal influence and authority in a manner as dangerous as surprising. It has become fashionable to regret that the prerogative was in too low a state; and the imprudence of juvenile politicians, intoxicated with premature preferment, has not scrupled to avow a design formed to raise the power of the Crown. When there are such alarming appearances, the guards of the constitution should rest upon their arms, and the friends of liberty have their eyes about them."

Remarks on the Principles of the British Government. Quarto edit. pag. 3.

MILITARY ANECDOTES*.

Feb. 6, 1771.

I AGREE with my friend Lord Barrington in thinking, that Britain did *not* shine in the production of Generals last war: and I must add, that my friend, General

* These military anecdotes are not indeed strictly connected with the memoirs of the Earl of Chatham, yet as they relate to the operations of war, during his administration, they may not be thought undeserving of a place. They are taken from the Public Advertiser, Feb. 6, 1771.

Howard

Howard, was among the number of those who might as well have been silent on that subject. I suppose the sting of the reflection went the deeper, from the consciousness of the justice of the assertion. If the qualifications requisite for a soldier, consisted in inventing numberless returns—wasting paper and ink, buckling a shoe, cocking an hat, cutting the belts and pouches, adjusting their exact symmetry and colour, and resting a firelock, with the toe two inches one way or another, *then* I believe General Howard, and the other Generals, who served in Germany, would be among the first-rate in the profession.

The attention paid in England to the above minutiae, is infinitely too minute!—In consequence of which, young Gentlemen, on entering the service, think, that the whole profession they are to learn, consists in dressing en militaire, being punctual at parades, understanding the manual exercise, and learning to be a martinett.—They see nothing else attended to by their superior officers, and, of course, conclude it is *the sum total of military knowledge!*—Their superior officers never dream of inculcating the necessity of learning how to take advantage of ground, in forming encampments, attacks, posting troops, erecting batteries, in forming magazines, and bakeries, in such convenient places, and with so much prudence, as to be at hand to furnish troops with forage, and with bread, at the same time that they may not serve to betray the intended movements of an army to an enemy, or be in danger of being taken or destroyed. Likewise in studying how to take advantage of the oversight of an enemy, leading their troops into ambuscades, while endeavouring to avoid falling into any laid by them, &c. &c. For which purpose, the being master of the Grecian and Roman histories—of the great Duke of Marlborough's and glorious Prince Ferdinand's campaigns, is the only education capable of teaching an officer how to command an army, and lead it to repeated victories.

I would not be understood to mean, that the manual exercise, and the dressing of soldiers to appear military, is *not* to be attended to—far from it—no troops are fit to take the field, unless they have been well drilled—it is the business of commanding officers of regiments to see that properly performed. What I complain of is, that *this* is the *only* business which is attended to. After a young man has proved himself to be a good adjutant, he finds his character *sufficiently* established *to obtain preferment*; and he need give himself no trouble to shew he has likewise been learning the way to command, and conduct a corps in the face of an enemy, with honour and glory.

I revere the memory of the late Duke of Cumberland! The army had not the appearance of soldiers, till he dressed it, and made good regulations. I revere his memory, for his steady revolution principles! for his bravery! for his having, under God, quashed rebellion, and thereby rescued us from all the horrors of Popery! and for his unalterable regard for our happy constitution!—yet as his *military* knowledge never went beyond that of an adjutant, he was unable *to conduct* a great army—he could lead troops gallantly into action, but then he was ignorant how to dispose their different attacks, so as to perplex his enemy, and penetrate their line with advantage—how to sustain his attacks, if repulsed, or
cover

cover their retreat if defeated! witness Fontenoy, where, if it had not been for Lord Crawford, no retreat would have been effected! witness Hastenbeck, where he gained a victory, and the enemy were on the route! flying in confusion! but, by his not advancing his cavalry in time, they rallied, and he had that victory turned into a total defeat! I would not have mentioned the Duke of Cumberland, if I had not been under a necessity, by way of *accounting* for the too minute attention to the minutiae, shewn (since his time) by officers of the first rank. The Duke began it, by taking more trouble when in the field, about how the officers were to be posted when the line was to be turned out of *compliment*—how they were to be dressed—the men accoutred, &c. &c. than in learning how to distress the enemy, or conduct the campaign; let any one read *his* orderly books—compare them with Prince Ferdinand's! and *then* judge how very differently they employed their thoughts! *this* has led all our Generals to follow his example! his Majesty is now confirming it! witness the parade about nothing! attending to trifles! altering the way of wearing sashes, as if *that* was of consequence sufficient to excite the attention of a great King! his officers of rank take no notice of the regimental officers shamefully neglecting to pay attention to their men, in their firings—how do they level their pieces? into the air! if they make a noise, 'tis enough, though they aim at the clouds; I stood on the flanks at most of the reviews, and I can swear that three-fourths presented so as to have gone over houses, *not* in their platoon, or grand division firings, but in running fires, which represent *real action*, and therefore ought to be *most* attended to—for if men get a practice of doing so at exercise, they will hardly aim better when bullets whistle about their ears. Now, to bring all I have said, *home to the general officers*, and by way of proving their *military* education to have been *sadly neglected*, let us take a view of the appearance those made who were last war in Germany, and by the few following specimens, judge of their *warlike* abilities. And, first, I must *except dead Lord Granby* from the censure I am about to pass on the other Generals—

“ Let *others* hail the *rising* sun—

“ I bow to *that* whose course is run !” &c. *

To do him justice, he took pains *in Germany* to learn his profession; and the disposition he made of his battalions the evening of the day preceding Fillinghousen (campaign 1761) will ever prove his having been a soldier: The great Prince Ferdinand commended it in the most flattering manner, namely, by *not altering it*.

If G—l H—d had confined himself to his comisariat business last campaign, he would have been *more in his sphere*: He would not have pestered the troops under his command, by requiring numberless *trifling* returns, nor have created such confusion among the cavalry at the battle of Wilhelmshall. Let

* Garrick's Ode on the death of Mr. Pelham.

me remind him of the manner he made the cavalry gallop in column through the thick wood, and afterwards through the intervals of the battalions, and likewise that by *his method* of forming the line to the front, while the whole column (of twenty-three squadrons) was on a gallop, if the enemy's *four-score squadrons* had immediately attacked us, no one can answer what consequence *his unmeaning* hurry and ignorance might have produced ! There is no necessity for my readers being military men to understand the blunders I am going to detect. The experienced General was at the head of twenty-three squadrons, in column, (that is, squadron following squadron) on a full gallop. He was arrived on the plain—was to form the line to the front. Instead of ordering the leading squadron to advance very slow, and keep inclining much to the right, in order for the rear squadrons to overtake the front ones, and to have sufficient ground to form on, allowing an interval of the space of a squadron between each squadron ; and, in order that when the line was formed, the squadrons might be fresh to charge with vigour ; I say, instead of the above conduct, the great, self-important General, to shew his courage, notwithstanding the line was forming to the front, kept advancing at a trot, with hardly any inclination to the right, by which means, as the squadrons came at full speed up to dress with the right, they had not ground enough on the left, and found themselves without proper, indeed without any, intervals ! All the horses quite blown ! panting ! and the squadrons all in a confused heap ! He, seeing the confusion, and not knowing how to rectify it, kept roaring ; his aid-du-camps galloping from one squadron to another. I could not avoid smiling to see him bawling till he squeaked ! Fortunately indeed he soon became unintelligible ; and then the squadrons (by the right ones taking ground) regained their proper intervals, when he no longer perplexed them ! I wish Lord George Germaine had seen the wood the cavalry galloped through that day ! crowded with great trees and thick brambles ! no trace of path ; as the infantry marched in the roads when the cavalry passed them—very different from the open firwood of Minden ! that unsurmountable obstacle to Lord George ! For my own part, I think his Lordship shewed bad policy when he lately fought the duel *. If his restraining the cavalry at Minden had proceeded from personal cowardice, the world would have allowed *some pity* to have remained mixed with their contempt ; but since it proceeded from a personal *envious* pique to the *greatest General in the world* ; and by that infernal pique twenty French battalions (at least) made their escape ; the greatest infamy is too slight a punishment ! Yet, conformable to the practice of the times, I expect to hear of that man being soon taken into royal favour ; since, like Lord Sandwich, he has the strongest recommendation to introduce him to the confidence of a *pious* prince—that of NOT DESERVING it !

I shall pass over G——l M——n, with only saying, he had some merit by *not pretending* to be a soldier ! But though his falling asleep on horseback (at the

* With Governor Johnstone.

head of twelve British battalions, twelve right British squadrons, on the return from Welda, two days after the battle of Warburg, campaign 1760) had very nearly exposed those troops to have been demolished, or taken prisoners by stopping the march a full hour, and as the whole army of France were on the banks of the Dymel, an hour after the corps passed it. I shall make no other comment on his conduct than that, if drinking and talking bawdy could have qualified him, none could have excelled him!

As to Lords P—m—ke, T—nsh—d, Generals Sa—f—d, Dou—l—s, &c. they really were so insignificant in the military way, that they did nothing worthy of notice; yet I give them the preference to the other generals, since they were so modestly conscious of their ignorance, that they undertook no command in which they could possibly expose themselves. They pretended to no knowledge or solicitude about the matter!

I must next remind General W-l-g-ve (now a noble E.) of his manœuvres the forenoon of the battle of Warburg. The cavalry passed by his infantry at the village of Corbecke, at eight in the morning of that day (that village is but five or six measured miles from Warburg) and though the enemy were not all quite passed over the river Dymel at three in the afternoon (31st July, 1760) it was rather passed that hour before General W-l-g-ve's regiments of infantry came up: Whereas, if they had been up in time to have followed Prince Ferdinand's plan, those regiments would have taken Chevalier de Muy's flying troops in the flank of their defeated columns, by crossing the Dymel below the hill of Disenberg, and they would have done great service; but by General W-l-g-ve's having marched in line through high standing corn (seven or eight feet high!) his men were harrassed, fatigued, delayed: Whereas, if he had marched in column, the field-pieces of the first battalion would have trod down a path for the remainder of his battalions, and would have saved three hours spent in ridiculous manœuvres. I acquit the noble General as to his bravery; his military ideas never went beyond the wheelings on the parade at Whitehall and Hyde-park; so he thought his forming the line miles from an enemy, &c. shewed his *warlike* abilities. I cannot take my leave of General W-l-g-ve without reminding his Lordship of his manner of harrassing the regiments that formed his corps needlessly. He used to post an officer and twenty men on almost every mole-hill in the country, and that too without the smallest necessity of prudence. A General ought always to take care not to fix a post where it either could not be supported in time, if attacked, or could not retire with safety to the main body; yet when he was commanding a corps of four battalions and seven squadrons, some hussars, and light artillery, on the Weser, the ending of the campaign 1761, he detached a post consisting of two subalterns and thirty infantry, and ditto of cavalry, commanded by a captain of the latter, at a village four miles from camp, where they could not possibly be supported in time, and where they might have been attacked before they could have known that an enemy was within twelve miles of them, since the post was in a valley, by the side of a rivulet, a thick wood came down close to the

the opposite banks of the little stream, and the wood extended back for twenty miles; so that during the night, thousands of the enemy might have advanced under cover of it, close to the centinels, without a possibility of being discovered by the detachment till they were among them, and round them. Fortunately the enemy's neglect saved that post. No thanks to the General's prudence. A Serjeant and twelve of his own regiment had been carried off from that village a day or two before he sent the detachment.

I shall conclude with General C-nw-y, and only remind him of the night before Prince Ferdinand came up with the army when the General commanded at Zoest, the opening of the campaign 1761. The General that evening ordered the corps to strike tents and form the line; and, by way of great alertness, would not allow his infantry to lye down or his cavalry to dismount, though at that moment no enemy were nearer him than Unna, two days march distant: However, the morning brought up Prince Ferdinand to relieve the troops from *needless* hardships!—I had almost forgot another anecdote, relative to that General's command at Zoest: after having, like General W-l-g-ve, posted numberless detachments, he gave out in orders that “the commanding officers of regiments should catch the present favourable opportunity of exercising their men;” but on their remonstrating, that “if all their posts were relieved *at once*, then *while* the relief was out there would *only remain* just ten men per regiment of cavalry in camp.” He was, I believe, ashamed of his not considering the number of his posts, since he retracted his orders for exercising. I will, however, do General C-nw-y the justice to say, that I believe he would have made a very good General if he had not been spoilt by his education under the Duke of Cumberland—he there learnt fiddle-faddle, and a minute attendance to the *minutiae*, infinitely below the notice of any man above the rank of a colonel—yet it is *the only* knowledge of our Generals, or of the rising Duke of Gloucester, or of his Majesty! Every officer who served in Germany, knows that the term of British Generals was a term of reproach and of universal ridicule! If the King goes on attending *only* to trifles, he will ruin the English Generals past redemption! The moment a man becomes a General he ought that instant to forget the *minutiae*, and think only of the proper qualities requisite to form the commander of an army.

I would not have Lord Barrington plume himself with the idea that he has got me on his side. I believe he made his remark not through any desire to reform our Generals, but merely to excuse the King for having no commander in chief, by alledging, that none of them were fit for that high office;—now I think any of them much fitter for it than he is. He has not the smallest pretensions, is ignorant of even the low *minutiae* of the service; and, joined to that ignorance, he has a bad heart. There is not an officer in the whole army but who detests him. He has made it his study to disgust them, by paying no attention to their services, by obliging those who were old, infirm, and disabled, to dispose of their commissions for half the sums, which young men were ready and

desirous to give them, (and would have thought themselves obliged by being allowed to give them) the hard-earned wages of the old officers lives, in return for the loss of every human comfort! In short, his Lordship is considered by the army as being, in every sense, an object of contempt and abhorrence!

JUNIUS BRUTUS.

G I B R A L T A R.

IN chapter XV. mention is made of Mr. Pitt's willingness to restore Gibraltar at Spain, upon certain conditions, of the utmost importance, at that time, to Great Britain. It is presumed, that the reader will not be displeased to see it stated here, as an historical fact, that this idea was far from being novel. The cabinet of King George the First, not only entertained the same opinion, of deriving a great national advantage from the cession of that fortress to Spain, but that Prince went much further: He wrote a letter to the King of Spain upon the subject. The cabinet of Madrid construed this letter into an absolute promise of that cession. And the performance of this promise was afterwards demanded by the court of Spain, in more than one negotiation. This important point was a great subject of discussion both in and out of parliament, a few years afterwards. The King alludes to it, in his speech to parliament, on the 17th of January, 1727. Speaking of a memorial which the Spanish ambassador had presented, the King says, *He again demands and insists on the restitution of Gibraltar.* The Gentlemen in opposition at that time, attacked Sir Robert Walpole very severely on this point. Sir Robert answered, "That such promise not having been made while he had the honour to be in the administration, he could say nothing to it—That if such promise was ever made, he durst aver, that it was conditional.—It was his fixed opinion, that Gibraltar could not be given up without the consent of parliament."

On the 6th day of February, in the same year, Mr. Sandys (afterwards Lord Sandys) moved for a copy of the King of Great Britain's letter to the King of Spain, which was supposed to contain this promise. Sir Robert Walpole opposed this motion; but he did not disown "that such a promise might have been made in a former administration; but this he was sure of, that if there was such a promise, it was upon certain conditions, which not having been performed within the limited time, was thereby become invalid; and as for the letter, the communication of which was insisted upon, the same was altogether impracticable and unprecedented; the private letters of Princes being almost as sacred as their very persons." It was replied, "that this was not a *private letter*—it was an instrument

ment of great national import, and highly proper for the knowledge of parliament." The motion was negatived by the previous question.

The letter was, however, privately circulated by the Imperial Resident in London, M. D. Palm, previous to his departure: and the following is a copy of it (translated from the French):

Copy of a Letter from his Britannic Majesty to the King of Spain.

SIR, MY BROTHER,

I HAVE learned with great satisfaction, by the report of my ambassador at your court, that your Majesty is, at last, resolved to remove the obstacles that have, for sometime, delayed the entire accomplishment of our union: since, from the confidence which your Majesty expresses towards me, I may look upon the treaties, which have been in question between us, as re-established: and that accordingly, the instruments necessary for carrying on the trade of my subjects will be delivered out; I do no longer hesitate to assure your Majesty of my readiness to satisfy you with regard to your demand, touching the restitution of Gibraltar; promising you to make use of the first favourable opportunity to regulate this article with the consent of my parliament. And to give your Majesty a farther proof of my affection, I have ordered my ambassador, as soon as the negotiation, with which he has been charged, shall be finished, to propose to your Majesty new engagements to be entered into, in concert and jointly with France, suitable to the present conjuncture; not only for strengthening our union, but also for securing the tranquillity of Europe. Your Majesty may be persuaded, that I, on my part, will shew all facility imaginable, promising myself that you will do the same, for the mutual benefit of our kingdoms, being

Most perfectly, Sir, my brother,

Your Majesty's good brother,

June 1, 1721.

GEORGE R.

In a little time after this, the King of Spain entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the emperor. One condition of that alliance was, to enforce the restitution of Gibraltar. And in consequence of this alliance the siege of that place was commenced.

The writers for the ministry at that time said, "That the chief reason which flung the King of Spain into the arms of the Emperor, and occasioned that unnatural alliance, was, the late Lord Stanhope's promise to restore Gibraltar." See London Journal of the 17th of December, 1728; and other papers of that time.

To this assertion the Craftsman of the 14th of December, 1728, replies in the following words:

"This was far from being the case. We have been told, that his Lordship (Lord Stanhope) did unwarily give some kind of a verbal promise to the late
q 2 Regent

Regent of France, that the Spaniards should be made easy as to that affair; but it was in view of a general pacification, and on conditions of trade highly beneficial to this kingdom, with which the Spaniards refused to comply. Besides, it is well known, that his Catholic Majesty acceded to the quadruple alliance after this, and by that act departed from any such promise But it may not be amiss to mention another incident, which hath been thought by men of sense, of all parties, to be the *true root and foundation of the alliance* between the King of Spain and the Emperor. And that is this. During the congress of Cambray, the Kings of Great Britain and France were accepted as mediators between the Emperor and the King of Spain; but upon sending back the infanta *, her Catholic Majesty was so exasperated against the French court by this indignity put upon her daughter, that she would not act any longer under the mediation of France, but offered the *sole mediation* to Great Britain; which we, by an extraordinary refinement of politics, thought fit to refuse. And it was this, that really *flung the King of Spain into the arms of the Emperor †.*"

[If the histories, or pretended histories, of the period, had contained these important anecdotes, they would not have been printed here.]

IN chapter XL. mention is made of Lord Chatham's condemnation of Lord Mansfield's doctrine of libels. In consequence of that reprehension a bill was drawn, and intended to have been brought into parliament, to put this important point of public liberty out of doubt in future. The following is a copy of the bill ‡ which was at that time prepared. But a disagreement hap-

* This circumstance of sending back the Infanta, is mentioned in chapter XIX. of this work.

† This paper of the Craftsman was supposed to be written by Mr. Pulteney (afterwards Lord Bath); and it agrees with the motion he made in the House of Commons on the 23d of January, 1727, for a copy of the secret offensive alliance between the Emperor and the King of Spain; which was negatived.

In a subsequent paper of the Craftsman, viz. January 4, 1729, the same writer says, "I have been informed that Lord Stanhope had been induced, or *seduced* (if the writer of the London Journal likes that word better) by the late Regent of France, to make an overture of this kind at the court of Madrid. Lord Stanhope might think that Gibraltar was to be honestly given up for *valuable considerations*. He was so honest a man, so sincere a lover of his country, that if he thought in another manner, no consideration of private interest, no regard to the service of a ministry, could have prevailed on him to make, nor even to entertain the motion."

The reader will anticipate the observation, that the King's conduct seems to have been better and more fully defended by the writers in support of opposition, than by those in behalf of the ministry. And this observation is in general perfectly true, that the writers on the side of the ministry essentially injure the character of the Sovereign, by always making him a kind of screen to the ministerial conduct of his servants, while their opponents decently ascribe all nefarious measures of the court to the respective situations of responsibility.

‡ It was printed in the public prints of the 18th of January, 1771, from whence this copy is taken.

pening

pening between some of the principle persons in the minority, it was, for that reason, postponed.

A B I L L, &c.

“ WHEREAS doubts and controversies have arisen, concerning the right of Jurors to try the whole matter charged in indictments and informations for seditious and other libels; for settling and clearing the same in time to come, Be it enacted, &c. that from and after, &c. the Jurors who shall be duly impanelled and sworn to try the issue between the King and the Defendant, upon any indictment or information for a seditious libel, or a libel under any other denomination or description, shall, to all intents and purposes, be held and reputed, in law and in right, competent to try every part of the matter laid or charged in the said indictment or information, comprehending the criminal intention of the Defendant, and evil tendency of the libel charged, as well as the mere fact of the publication thereof; and the application by inuendo of blanks, initial letters, pictures, and other devices, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ Provided that nothing in the act be construed to prevent or restrain the Judges, or Justices, before whom such issues shall be tried, from instructing the Jurors concerning the law upon the matter so in issue, as fully as may be done in other misdemeanors, where the Jurors do and ought to try the whole matter; nor to restrain the Jurors from finding the matter special, if the law to them shall seem difficult and doubtful.

“ Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to take from the Defendant, after verdict found, the right of laying such evidence before the court in which such verdict was found, as may tend to mitigation or extenuation of his said offence, as has been usually practised before this Act.”

Copy of Thanks to the Right Hon. William Pitt, Esq. by the Speaker of the late House of Representatives at Boston in New England, in Pursuance of their Orders of the 20th of June, 1766.

S I R,

YOUR noble and generous efforts in support of the common rights of mankind, and liberties of Great Britain, and her colonies, and more particularly in the late session of parliament, have very justly ensured you the warmest affection and esteem of every honest and sensible British subject.

The

The House of Representatives of this his Majesty's province, sensible of your distinguished merit, and the signal favours you have done to the colonies, by employing your great abilities and interest in their behalf, immediately after voting an humble address of thanks to his Majesty, have ordered, that their grateful acknowledgments should be made to their generous patron.

Sir, at the desire of the House of Representatives, I have the honour of transmitting to you their thanks; and in their name beg your acceptance of the inclosed vote.

I am, with the greatest respect, your most obliged,

And most obedient, humble servant,

T. CUSHING, Speaker.

Boston, New England, June 21, 1766. To the Right Hon. William Pitt, Esq.

The Answer.

S I R,

THE honour of your letter, communicating to me a public testimony of so high a nature, found me in a severe fit of the gout, which long disabled me from using my hand. Give me leave, Sir, to offer my humblest acknowledgements, and to assure you, that, though late, they are not less warmly dictated by a true sense of respectful gratitude towards the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay; they will allow me to add, that I shall always esteem myself particularly fortunate, whenever the just discharge of my duty here meets with approbation in America.

I am, with great truth and distinguished regard, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

Bath, Dec. 24, 1766.

CHATHAM.

To Thomas Cushing, Esq. Speaker to the Hon. House of Representatives of his Majesty's province of Massachusetts Bay.

The following inscription is written on a pedestal, on which is erected a colossal statue of Lord Chatham, in the Ciceronian character and habiliment, at Charles-town, in South-Carolina. The action is spirited, and the execution masterly, by Mr. Wilton, the statuary.

In grateful memory
Of his services to this country in general,
And to America in particular,
The Commons House of Assembly
Of South-Carolina
Unanimously voted
This statue

Of

Of
The Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, Esq.
Who
Gloriously exerted himself
In defending the freedom of Americans,
The true sons of England,
By promoting a repeal of the Stamp-Act,
In the year 1766.
Time
Shall sooner destroy
This mark of their esteem,
Than
Erase from their minds
The just sense
Of his patriotic virtue.

[His picture was put up at Boston, and other places in America.]

A Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Chatham.

MY LORD,

Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, Feb. 2, 1768.

THE particular attention you were pleased to give to the interest of the American subjects when their rights were in danger, and your noble and successful efforts in support of them, have left in the breasts of all, the indelible marks of gratitude. The House of Representatives of this his Majesty's province, having reason to be assured, that in every instance of your public conduct, you are influenced by the principles of virtue and a disinterested public affection, beg leave to manifest to your Lordship, a testimony of their full confidence in you, by imploring your repeated aid and patronage at this time, when the cloud again gathers thick over them.

It must afford the utmost satisfaction to the distressed colonists, to find your Lordship so explicitly declaring your sentiments in that grand principle in nature, "that what a man hath honestly acquired is absolutely and uncontrollably his own." This principle is established as a fundamental rule in the British constitution, which eminently hath its foundation in the laws of nature; and consequently it is the indisputable right of all men, more especially of a British subject, to be present in person, or by representation, in the body where he is taxed.

But

But however fixed your Lordship and some others may be in this cardinal point, it is truly mortifying to many of his Majesty's free and loyal subjects, that even in the British parliament, that sanctuary of liberty and justice, a different sentiment seems of late to have prevailed.

Unwilling to intrude upon your attention to the great affairs of state, the House would only refer your Lordship to an Act passed in the fourth year of the present reign, and another in the last session of parliament; both imposing duties on the Americans, who were not represented, with the sole and express purpose of raising a revenue. What, my Lord, have the colonists done to forfeit the character and privilege of subjects, and to be reduced in effect to a tributary state? This House may appeal to the nation, that the utmost aid of the people has been cheerfully given when his Majesty required it: often, on their own motion, and when almost ready to succumb under the expence of defending their own borders, their zeal has carried them abroad for the honour of their Sovereign, and the defence of his rights: of this, my Lord, not to mention any more, the reduction of Louisburgh in the year 1745, and the defence of his Majesty's garrison at Annapolis, and of all Nova Scotia, will be standing monuments. Can there then be a necessity for so great a change, and in its nature so delicate and important, that instead of having the honour of his Majesty's requisitions laid before their representatives here, as has been invariably the usage, the parliament should now tax them without their consent?

The enemies of the colonists, for such they unfortunately have, may have represented them to his Majesty's ministers, and the parliament, as factious, undutiful, disloyal: they, my Lord, are equally the enemies of Britain: such is your extensive knowledge of mankind, and the sentiments and disposition of the colonies in general, that this House would freely venture to rest the character of their constituents in your Lordship's judgment: surely it is no ill disposition in the loyal subjects of a patriot King, with a decency and firmness adapted to their character, to assert their freedom.

The colonies, as this House humbly conceive, cannot be represented in the British parliament: their local circumstances, at the distance of a thousand leagues beyond the seas, forbids, and will for ever render it impracticable: this, they apprehend, was the reason that his Majesty's royal predecessors saw fit to erect subordinate legislative bodies in America as perfectly free as the nature of things would admit, that their remote subjects might enjoy that inestimable right, a representation. Such a legislature is constituted by the royal charter of this province. In this charter, the King, for himself, his heirs, and successors, grants to the inhabitants all the lands and territories therein described, in free and common soccage; as ample estate as the subjects can hold under the crown; together with all the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities of his natural subjects born within the realm; of which the most essential is a power invested in the General Assembly to levy proportionable and reasonable taxes on the estates and persons of the inhabitants, for the service of his Majesty, and the necessary defence and support of his government of the province,

province, and the protection and preservation of the inhabitants. But though they were originally, and always, since their settlement, have been considered as subjects remote, they have ever cherished a warm affection for the mother state, and a regard for the interest and happiness of their fellow-subjects in Britain. If then the colonies are charged with the most distant thought of an independency, your Lordship may be assured, that, with respect to the people of this province, and, it is presumed, of all the colonies, the charge is unjust.

Nothing could have prevailed upon the House to have given your Lordship this trouble, but the necessity of a powerful advocate, when their liberty is in danger: such they have more than once found you to be; and as they humbly hope they have never forfeited your patronage, they intreat that your great interest in national council may still be employed in their behalf, that they may be restored to the standing of free subjects.

That your Lordship may enjoy a firm state of health, and long be continued a great blessing to the nation and her colonies, is the ardent wish of this House.

Signed by the SPEAKER.

Copy of Lord Hillsborough's Letter to the American Governors.

MY LORD (OR SIR),

Whitehall, May 13, 1769.

INCLOSED I send you the gracious speech made by the King to his parliament, at the close of the session on Tuesday last.

What his Majesty is pleased to say in relation to the measures which have been pursued in North America will not escape your notice, as the satisfaction his Majesty expresses in the approbation his parliament has given to them, and the assurances of their firm support in the prosecution of them, together with his royal opinion of the great advantages that will probably accrue from the concurrence of every branch of the legislature, in the resolution of maintaining a due execution of the laws, cannot fail to produce the most salutary effects.

From hence it will be understood, that the whole legislature concur in the opinion adopted by his Majesty's servants, that no measure ought to be taken which can any way derogate from the legislative authority of Great Britain over the colonies; but I can take upon me to assure you, notwithstanding insinuations to the contrary, from men with factious and seditious views, that his Majesty's present administration have, at no time, entertained a design to propose to parliament any further taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a revenue; and that it is at present their intention to propose, in the next session of parlia-

ment, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce.

These, my Lord, (or Sir) have always been, and still are, the sentiments of his Majesty's present servants, and the principles by which their conduct, in respect to America, has been governed; and his Majesty relies upon your prudence and fidelity for such an explanation of his measures, as may tend to remove the prejudices which have been excited by the misrepresentations of those who are enemies to the peace and prosperity of Great Britain and her colonies, and to re-establish that mutual confidence and affection upon which the glory and safety of the British empire depend.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HILLSBOROUGH.

His Majesty's Answers to the humble Petitions presented to him from the City of London, deprecating the War with America.

April 10, 1775.

IT is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in the wisdom of my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended, for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdoms.

July 14, 1775.

I AM always ready to listen to the dutiful petitions of my subjects, and ever happy to comply with their reasonable requests; but, while the constitutional authority of this kingdom is openly resisted by a part of my American subjects, I owe it to the rest of my people, of whose zeal and fidelity I have had such constant proofs, to continue and enforce those measures, by which alone their rights and interests can be asserted and maintained.

March 22, 1776.

I DEPLORE, with the deepest concern, the miseries which a great part of my subjects in North America have brought upon themselves, by an unjustifiable resistance to the constitutional authority of this kingdom; and I shall be ready, and happy, to alleviate those miseries by acts of mercy and clemency, whenever

ever that authority is established, and the now-existing rebellion is at an end. To obtain these salutary purposes, I will invariably pursue the most proper and effectual means.

March 13, 1778.

I CAN never think that the zeal of my subjects, the resources of my kingdoms, and the bravery of my fleets and armies, can have been unwisely and improvidently exerted, when the object was to maintain the constitutional subordination which ought to prevail through the several parts of my dominions, and is essential to the prosperity of the whole. But I have always lamented the calamities inseparable from a state of war; and shall most earnestly give all the efficacy in my power to those measures which the legislature has adopted, for the purpose of restoring, by some happy, honourable, and permanent conciliation, the blessings of peace, commerce, affection, and confidence, between the mother-country and the colonies.

An authentic Account of the Part taken by the Earl of Chatham in a Transaction which passed in the Beginning of the Year 1778.

[N. B. The letters (a) (b), &c. refer to the same letters in Dr. Addington's narrative which is subjoined to this account.]

VARIOUS false reports having been industriously propagated, concerning a negotiation, (if it may be so called) said to have been carried on between the Earl of Bute and the late Earl of Chatham, it has been thought indispensibly necessary to draw up a distinct and authentic account, from papers now in the possession of the Earl of Chatham's family, of what did pass relative to that affair, that it may appear, whether the transaction did, or did not, originate from Lord Chatham; and that it may be clearly ascertained, what were his sentiments and disposition with regard to it.

It appears, (a) that various conversation had passed between Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington, relative to Lord Bute and Lord Chatham, previous to the third of February, 1778, but that Lord Chatham was in no wise apprised of this, till the above-mentioned day, on which Dr. Addington went to Hayes, and read to Lord Chatham the following extract of a letter, which the Doctor informed him, he had that morning received from Sir James Wright:

No. I.—*Extract of a Letter from Sir James Wright to Dr. Addington.*

"As I immediately, on my return from Lord Bute's, took down in short-hand the principal heads of it, I think I shall not deviate materially from the very words of the conversation, at least if the spirit of his Lordship's language is debilitated, the essential matter of it is the same.

"I told Lord Bute, that a friend of mine, whose honour and sincerity I could rely upon, had hinted to me (* that he thought Lord Chatham had a high opinion of his Lordship's honour, as well as his sincere good wishes for the public safety). He enquired who my friend was? I told him it was you. He replied, I know he is much Lord Chatham's friend; I know also, that he is an honest man, and a man of sense. I related to him the conversation that had passed between yourself and me, at our last meeting. He said, Lord Chatham was one of the very few he had ever acted with in administration, who had shewn great honesty and generosity of sentiment, with a sincere conduct, and intention for the King's and the public welfare.

"That as for himself, he said, he had no connection with any one in administration; that he had not the least distant friendship with Lord North, or he should certainly advise him, by all means, to aim at gaining Lord Chatham over to the King's service and confidence; and, said he, you may tell your friend, Dr. Addington, to assure Lord Chatham, that if he should think proper to take an active part in administration, he shall have my most hearty concurrence, and sincere good wishes; and you have my full leave to communicate all my sentiments on this subject to your friend. He continued saying many very respectful things of Lord Chatham, adding, had we not unfortunately disagreed about the last peace, I am sure he and I should have continued such steady friends, that this country never would have experienced her present severe misfortunes. He also said, the prior part of Lord Chatham's last speech, was manly and constitutional, and could not but induce every one, a well-wisher to his country, to wish to see him again take a part in the government of the King's affairs, which would be a happiness for the whole empire. He continued saying, perhaps we have men of abilities in the House of Lords, but those in administration (except Lord Suffolk, who is usually ill half the year) are none of them sufficiently serious, or attentive enough to the business of the nation, which is now of so much consequence, as not to be neglected in the least degree. He therefore could not say he had a good opinion of their conduct. He also said, in the course of the conversation, that nothing but the most eminent danger to this country, should induce him to take a part in the

* The truth of this part is expressly denied by Dr. Addington in his *narrative*, in which the Doctor declares, that to the best of his remembrance, Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him (b) (b).

Government of it, unless in conjunction with an upright and able administration.

"Much more was said, but of less moment; however, all tended to convince me, that there are not two other men in the kingdom more faithfully inclined to the good and safety of our present distracted nation, than our two noble friends."

[This letter was dated January 2, it should have been February 2, having been received by Dr. Addington on February 3.]

Lord Chatham dictated the following message in answer, which was taken down in writing by Dr. Addington, a copy of which was delivered by him to Sir James Wright:

No. II.—*Copy of a note given by Doctor Addington to Sir James Wright.*

"Lord Chatham heard with particular satisfaction, the favourable sentiments on the subject of the noble lord, with whom you had talked with regard to the impending ruin of the kingdom. He fears all hope is precluded, but adds, that zeal, duty, and obedience, may outlive hope; that if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be *new counsels*, and *new counsellors*, without farther loss of time; a *real change* from a sincere conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless."

It appears from Dr. Addington's narrative, (c) that the Doctor then proceeded to inform Lord Chatham of the substance of those parts of the conversation which had passed between him and Sir James Wright, which are not recited in Sir James's letter of Feb. 2, No. I.

The account of this, as well as what passed at that time, in conversation between Lord Chatham and Dr. Addington, and particularly Lord Chatham's declaration, "that it was impossible for him to serve the King and country with either Lord Bute or Lord North" is contained in Dr. Addington's narrative (c).

On the 7th of February, Dr. Addington sent the following letter to Hayes:

No. III.—*Copy of a Letter from Dr. Addington, to the Earl of Chatham, dated Wigmore-street, Saturday two o'clock.*

MY GOOD LORD,

"Sir James Wright took a correct copy of the valuable writing entrusted to my care, between twelve and one yesterday. At one he waited on his friend, and I was to call in Brook-street for his answer at half past two. I was punctual to the time; Sir James had been at home, but a few minutes before my arrival had been called back to his friend. I waited half an hour, and then left a letter, requesting

requesting a line from Sir James, before he went out of town. At five, I received a short note, saying that his stay in town could be of no service, and that he would give me an account by the post this day of his conversation with —. Perhaps more persons than one were to be consulted before an account could be given. As far as I could learn, all parties would be pleased with your Lordship and Lord Camden, and that no objection was likely to be made to more than one of your Lordship's friends. Sir James Wright asked what was meant by the words "real change." I thought they wanted no explanation. He thought they included his friend, as well as the ministry, and wished that your Lordship and his friend could have an interview, but gave me no commission to mention his wishes. He only added, that he really believed it was in the power of your Lordship and his friend to save the nation; I only added that I believed the King and your Lordship could save the nation, and that his friend might be instrumental to its salvation, by turning the royal mind from past errors. I hope your Lordship and Lady Chatham go on well, and that I shall have the happiness of paying my respects to you both in Harley-street, on Monday. I most heartily congratulate my Lady and your Lordship on the safe arrival of Mr. James Pitt.

I am ever, my dear and good Lord,

Your most faithful, and obliged humble Servant,

A. ADDINGTON."

Wigmore-street, two o'clock, Saturday.

The same night Lord Chatham wrote with his own hand the following note, in answer to Dr. Addington, which was received by the Doctor the next morning:

No. IV.—*Copy of a Note from the Earl of Chatham to Dr. Addington.*

Hayes, Feb. —.

"The conversations which a certain gentleman has found means to have with you, are on his part of a nature too insidious, and to my feelings too offensive, to be continued, or *unrejected*. What can this officious emissary mean, by all the nonsense he has at times thrown out to you? The next attempt he makes to surprize friendly integrity by courtly insinuation, let him know that his great patron and your village friend differ in this *, one has brought the King and kingdom to ruin, the other would sincerely endeavour to save it."

Dr. Addington, on the 8th of February, sent to Lord Chatham at Hayes the following letter, (enclosing one which he had received that day from Sir James Wright, soon after the receipt of the above note from Lord Chatham:)

* Sir James had told the Doctor, and the Doctor had told Lord Chatham, that Lord Chatham and Lord Bute did not differ in political sentiments, which the Doctor thinks might occasion the last sentence in Lord Chatham's note.

No. V.

No. V.—*Copy of a Letter from Dr. Addington to the Earl of Chatham.*

"I am infinitely obliged to you, my dear Lord, for your kind and friendly caution against surprise and insinuation. It shall never be forgotten, and when I see the gentleman next (which perhaps may be to-morrow) your Lordship's wise and noble commands shall be literally obeyed. The inclosed letter, which was promised to come yesterday by the post, arrived this morning, by a special messenger. It needs no comment of mine; I am sure your Lordship will understand the language and drift of it, much better than I can, or any body else. I am impatient to see your Lordship in town, and pray a few minutes with you to-morrow. The time is come for you and you only to save a King and kingdom. Your Lordship knows that I am ever

Your most faithful, and most affectionate humble servant,
Feb. 8, 1778. A. ADDINGTON."

No. VI.—*Copy of a Letter from Sir James Wright to Dr. Addington.*

MY DEAR DOCTOR,

Ray-house, Feb. 7, 1778.

"I communicated our conversation of yesterday to my friend, soon after I left you, and then shewed him a copy of the paper you allowed me to transcribe. You will easily recollect, on my first reading it over with you, the observation I made on the particular expression in it, "A real change, and not a mere palliation;" namely, that your noble friend still thought that Lord Bute had influence in the measures of administration. In the very same light he also construed this expression; he therefore desired me to inform you, for the instruction of your friend, that the ill health he had long been subject to, united with the distresses of his family, had accustomed him to a perfect retired life, which he hoped, as long as he lived, steadily to adhere to; he added, that his long absence from all sort of public business, and the many years which had intervened since he saw the King, precluded him from forming any idea of measures past or to come, but what he gathers from very general conversation, or the news-papers; and this total ignorance, he said, renders the opinion given of the present dangerous crisis more alarming to him than it would otherwise be, and much more painful, as, notwithstanding his zeal for the country, love for the King, and very high opinion of Lord Chatham, he has it not in his power to be of the least use in this dangerous emergency; and that from his heart he wished Lord Chatham every imaginable success in the restoration of the public welfare.

"I think, my dear Doctor, this was almost verbatim my friend's conversation; at least I am confident it is a fac-simile of his real sentiments; and you see how very distant they are from the least inclination ever to interfere in the present or any future administration, which your noble friend seemed to apprehend.

May

May he extend the powers of his own great and honest abilities, to heal the dreadful wounds, which this poor country has received from what he very wisely calls *past errors*. Without his head, as well as heart, I fear all is lost. I remember poor Lord Northington saying to me more than once, not long before his death, that "as I was a young man, I should probably live to see (if I survived Lord Chatham and a few other great men) that this country would not only want abilities but hearts, and that our state would then be really piteous, where both knowledge and integrity were wanting to protect us." "Pray God your noble friend may step forth before this sorrowful epocha arrives, and stem the dreadful tide of profligacy, inattention to business, and barefaced immorality, which daily increase in every department of life, and must bring down ruin, and the dissolution of our country."

"That first quality of *knowledge*, which Lord Northington lamented the extinction of in this country, I shall never presume to be entitled to; but that of integrity I dare assert my claim to; and in that particular I hold myself inferior to no man: I only wish it was in my power to give your great and invaluable friend the most convincing proofs of this assertion, as well as of my profound veneration for him. You have known me long enough to be persuaded that nothing can divert me from the love of my country, and the path of an honest conduct; therefore ever command, with the utmost freedom, my dear Doctor,

Your most faithful and sincere friend,

JAMES WRIGHT."

"P. S. I shall be in town on Tuesday about three o'clock, and stay till the following day."

The next day the following answer, written by the Countess of Chatham, was sent to Dr. Addington.

No. VII.—*Copy of a Letter from Lady Chatham to Dr. Addington, dated Feb. 9.*

"I WRITE, my dear Sir, from my Lord's bedside, who has had much pain all last night from gout in his left hand and wrist. The pulse indicates more pain to come. He desires me to express for him the true sense he has of all your very friendly attention in this very delicate and critical situation. The Gentleman's letter which you transmit is handsomely written, and sufficiently explicit. At the same time, it is impossible not to remark, how widely it differs from the tenor of some of the intimations conveyed in former strange conversations to you. The letter now before him is written also with much good sense and candour, as coming from a heart touched with the extreme dangers impending over the King and Kingdom. Those dangers are indeed *extreme*, and seem to preclude all hope.

Hayes, quarter before one, Feb. 9, 1778."

From

From this unambiguous and authentic account, founded upon indisputable evidence, every impartial person will determine, whether the following proposition is not fully established: viz.

"That the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negotiation with the Earl of Bute, but without hesitation, peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordship in administration."

DR. ADDINGTON'S NARRATIVE.

Containing his Account of what passed relative to this Transaction.

(a) THE first time Sir James Wright talked with Dr. Addington, respecting Lord Bute and Lord Chatham, was about the beginning of January, 1778. Sir James began with lamenting the situation of this country, and gave it as his opinion, that the only method of saving it was for Lord Bute and Lord Chatham to unite firmly together, but remarked, that they were two of the men the King *bated* most. After various conversations on this matter, Sir James said Lord Bute thought Lord Chatham had a disrespect for him. Dr. Addington replied, (b) that, to the best of his remembrance, Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him, but that he thought Lord Chatham had no disrespect for Lord Bute; adding, that though they might differ in politics, Lord Chatham was not the kind of man to have disrespect, or bear ill will to any man. Sir James added, he was sure Lord Bute had the highest respect for Lord Chatham; that he had heard Lord Bute bestow great commendations on his whole speech at the beginning of the session, except that part which regarded the recall of the troops, and that the Doctor might tell Lord Chatham so if he pleased; but he never mentioned it till the 3d of February.

Nothing more passed till the 2d of February, when Sir James asked the Doctor, whether he had mentioned their former conversation to Lord Chatham. He said he had not; Sir James then said, that since that conversation he had seen Lord Bute, and was certain he had the same earnest desire with Lord Chatham to save the country; and was also certain, that nobody could save it, but Lord Chatham, with the assistance of Lord Bute: that Lord Bute was ready to assist him, and would be Secretary of State in the room of Lord Weymouth: the Doctor understood that Lord Bute had told Sir James so, and he has asked Sir James once or twice since, whether Lord Bute would have been Secretary of State in Lord Weymouth's room; and he answered, Yes, he would, or would not, as Lord Chatham pleased. When Sir James had mentioned Lord Bute's readiness to assist Lord Chatham, and to be Secretary of State, he expressed a wish that the whole which had passed might be communicated to Lord Chatham. The Doctor on this resolved to go to Hayes the next morning for that purpose, looking upon it as a matter of very great moment. But he desired to have in writing,

before he went, the substance of what had passed between Lord Bute and Sir James. Sir James said he had not time to write then, as he was in a hurry to go to Ray House, but would write in the evening, and send his letter to town by nine the next morning. The Doctor, notwithstanding, was permitted to acquaint Lord Chatham with Lord Bute's willingness to be Secretary of State, and, as he understood, with every thing else he has deposed, which is not expressed in the letter. (Vide No. I. in the preceding account.) The letter is dated the 2d of January, 1778: it should have been dated February 2d: the Doctor received it February 3d, before nine in the morning, and set out directly for Hayes. He read the letter to Lord Chatham, who was very attentive, and in a few minutes afterwards dictated this answer. (Vide No. II. in the preceding account.) (c) As soon as Dr. Addington had writ and read to Lord Chatham the above answer, he communicated to Lord Chatham what Sir James Wright had told him of the readiness of Lord Bute to be Secretary of State in the place of Lord Weymouth. He seemed to think it strange. "Indeed," said he, "did Sir James Wright tell you so?" "He certainly told me so."—After this, he asked Lord Chatham, whether he had any objection to coming in with Lord Bute or Lord North? He lifted up his hands, and said, "It was impossible for him to serve the King and Country with either of them; and if any one asks you about it, I desire you to bear witness that you heard me say so." He repeated the same words just as the Doctor was leaving him.

Sir James continued at Ray House till February 5th or 6th. He called on the Doctor in the morning of the 6th, and took a correct copy of Lord Chatham's answer, dated February 3d. Upon reading it, he asked what was meant by the words, "real change." It looks, said he, as if they included Lord Bute as well as the Ministry, and as if Lord Chatham thought Lord Bute was concerned in public affairs. I can assure you, he has nothing to do with them, and has not seen the King these two years. If Lord Chatham has a mind to undertake the direction of public affairs, there will be no objection to his having the assistance of Lord Camden; but there are some he might chuse who could not be admitted. Sir James said, he was to wait on Lord Bute at one that day, and would send the Doctor an answer to Lord Chatham's paper between two and three, if Lord Bute should chuse to give any. But a misfortune happening in Lord Bute's family, no answer was sent till February 8th in the morning. On the 7th of February, a servant of Lord Chatham's came to town, by whom Dr. Addington sent a letter to Hayes at two o'clock, giving Lord Chatham an account of the above-mentioned conversation with Sir James Wright on the 6th. On the evening of the 7th, his Lordship wrote the following answer, which the Doctor received the next morning. (Vide No. III. and No. IV. inserted in the preceding account.)

On the 8th of February, soon after Lord Chatham's letter arrived, the Doctor received that letter from Sir James, which had been expected from February 6th. (Vide No. VI. in the preceding account.) It is dated February 7th, and contains Lord Bute's answer to Lord Chatham's paper of February 3d. The Doctor

Doctor sent it immediately to Hayes, and had the next morning the following answer written by Lady Chatham, dated February 9th. (Vide No. VII. in the preceding account.) The Doctor communicated to Sir James Wright this letter from Lady Chatham, and also the latter part of that from Lord Chatham as soon as he could, and so the affair ended.

(b) P. S. In Sir James Wright's letter of February 2d, there are the following words: "I told Lord Bute that a friend of mine had hinted to me, that he thought Lord Chatham had a high opinion of his Lordship's honour, as well as his sincere good wishes for the public safety." After reading these words to Lord Chatham, the Doctor could not but take notice that Sir James had mistaken him, for all he said was, that he thought Lord Chatham had no disrespect for Lord Bute, &c. as is stated above.

*** The two following Letters were written in consequence of the Publication of the preceding authentic Account.*

Hill-street, Oct. 23, 1778.

THE publication which appeared about the middle of this month, and said to be taken from a copy handed about by the friends of the late Earl of Chatham, makes it necessary for me to give an answer, signed with my name.

The first paragraph of that publication observes very truly, that various false reports had been industriously propagated concerning a negotiation said to have been carried on between the Earl of Bute and the late Earl of Chatham. No less than three several reports of negotiations between those two noble Lords, reached me in the course of last spring, each differing from the other two in circumstances, and all from one another in the substitutes named, as having been employed in the transactions; and I took some pains to search into the origin of these stories; not to satisfy any doubt of mine as to their falsehood, (for I believed none of them) but to convince some of my acquaintance who disagreed, and others who might disagree with me in opinion upon the subject.

In consequence of these enquiries, the persons mentioned as agents, or message-bearers, in two of the three reports, very readily disclaimed all share in, or knowledge of the transactions ascribed to them. With respect to the third, there was more pretence of foundation, since messages certainly passed (as appears by your publication of the 15th of October) between the late Earl of Chatham and my father, by means of Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington.

The representation I had heard of some particulars in the subject matter of that intercourse surprized me so much, that I requested the favour of an explanation from Dr. Addington, who obligingly allowed me to write from his mouth such an account as he thought fit to give me, and approved my state of it when written. This was put into Sir James Wright's hands, who in a short time produced an answer contradicting it in all the material articles of their conversation,

sations, on which Dr. Addington's reports to Lord Chatham had been founded. I read over the answer to Dr. Addington, who persisted in maintaining the truth of his relation; but said, he would re-consider the matter at leisure, and put his thoughts into writing. Accordingly he afterwards sent me a paper, the same with that referred to in your publication, and since printed under the title of Dr. Addington's Narrative.

The relations given by these two gentlemen being thus inconsistent, it was thought proper that a full abstract should be prepared of their respective papers and others which my enquiries had produced, including my father's own account of his part in Sir James Wright's transaction, digested into some method; to be shewn to such as might desire to see it, but not allowed to be copied. This abstract, or digest, was executed by a friend, at my request, in a fair state of the allegations on both sides between Sir James and the Doctor; with a preliminary detail or introductory narrative of the several steps I had taken in the inquiries above-mentioned; and my friend's compilation hath been read by a few people; but no copy, as I am informed, hath been delivered out of my family, except one, which had been intended for a very near relation, and was sent to Lady Chatham, with copies of Sir James Wright's papers, at her Ladyship's own desire. To these communications, I understand, it is immediately owing, that the authentic account published was judged indispensably necessary to be drawn up and circulated; of which Lady Chatham was so good as to furnish my father with a copy thirteen or fourteen days before it appeared in print; so that I, who consider myself as being, in some degree, the cause of the publication, am, for this reason, called upon to take a public notice of it, if my connection, and the nature of the occasion, did not afford me sufficient inducement and excuse for so doing.

The account is avowed expressly to be drawn up from papers in possession of the Earl of Chatham's family, in order to shew whether the supposed negotiation did or did not originate from his Lordship: so that the papers are confessedly furnished by the Earl's family for the purpose of composing this account, which therefore bears the stamp of that family's authority, whether printed by their direction or not.

The account closes with the following observation, viz. "*from this unambiguous and authentic account, founded on indisputable evidence, every impartial person will determine whether the following proposition is not fully established, viz. that the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negotiation with the Earl of Bute, but without hesitation peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordship in administration.*"

The proposition here put, it must be observed, does not only concern Lord Chatham's rejection of every idea, &c. but involves in it a strong implication, as if Lord Bute had desired and proposed to take a part in administration with his Lordship. Now I do not at all enter into the question, whether Lord Chatham did or did not court a negotiation with the Earl of Bute; but when I consider the expression in his Lordship's dictated answer to Sir James Wright's letter, that he *heard with particular satisfaction the favourable sentiments on this subject of*
the

the noble Lord (viz. Lord Bute) *with whom Sir James Wright had talked*, and the following words of the sentence, *that zeal, duty, and obedience might outlive hope*, even under the impending ruin of the kingdom, it appears to me, that whatever ideas his Lordship might reject, he had not then resolved to reject all ideas of negotiation with my father, conceiving perhaps, from his assurance of hearty concurrence and sincere good wishes conveyed in Sir James Wright's letter, some expectation of having the door of the cabinet opened to him by that hand, which, according to his notions, had always kept the key. I may proceed a step further: it seems probable that Lord Chatham, at the beginning of the present year, was looking out for a negotiation with my father: for Mr. Dagge, who was said in one of the above-mentioned reports to be concerned in transacting a negotiation between the two noble Lords, and who is an acquaintance of Lord Bute, happening to say in common conversation with a friend of Lord Chatham, that he had heard my father speak respectfully of Lord Chatham, and give his opinion, that Lord Chatham's services must of course be called for in the present crisis; and this being reported to Lord Chatham by his friend, who heard it from Mr. Dagge, his Lordship instantly concluded, the words to be meant as a message to him from my father; but luckily his friend undeceived him in time; of which I also have my indisputable evidence from a paper of that friend, who obliged me with it at my own desire, but who cannot be suspected of wanting partiality for Lord Chatham.—It is said in the Authentic Account, from the evidence of Dr. Addington's Narrative, that Lord Chatham held a conversation with the Doctor at Hayes, in which the former *declared it was impossible for him to serve the public with either Lord Bute or Lord North*; but I believe nobody would discern, in this part of their conversation at Hayes, the shadow of a proof that my father offered to serve the public in a ministry with his Lordship, unless Dr. Addington had added this circumstance in his Narrative, as gathered from Sir James Wright's discourse with him: so that at last the indisputable evidence of this fact, so far as regards my father, rests wholly upon Dr. Addington's Narrative, which hath been flatly contradicted in that point, again and again, by Sir James Wright. Undoubtedly the Doctor and Sir James would have been sufficient witnesses of the message intended to be conveyed through them, if their accounts had agreed; but they differ so widely and essentially, that no evidence seems to have less claim to be called indisputable. What other evidence then can be resorted to in this case, but Lord Bute's relation of his own proceedings? This I am at liberty to give you in the following extract from his letter to Lady Chatham of the 16th of August last, dated from Luton Park.

MADAM,
 "I AM happy in the opportunity your Ladyship gives me of relating to you all I know concerning a transaction, in which both Lord Chatham and I have been strangely misrepresented to each other, and concerning which so many falsehoods have been industriously propagated. When Sir James Wright communicated

municated to me the very flattering language in which he declared Lord Chatham had expressed himself concerning me, I was naturally led to mention my regard for his Lordship, and the high opinion I entertained of his superior talents, hoping, from what was then publicly talked of, to see them once more employed in the ministerial line; and collecting from Sir James, that the knowledge of my sentiments would not, on this occasion, be displeasing, I did not hesitate to express my hearty wishes, that this important event might soon take place. Some time after this I was extremely surprised with a conversation Sir James said Dr. Addington wished to be reported to me: it was in substance Lord Chatham's opinion of the alarming situation we were in, and the necessary measures to be immediately taken upon it. As such a communication, to a person in my retired situation, seemed only made on a supposition that I had still some share in public councils, it appeared necessary for me to dictate to Sir James my answer; in which, after lamenting the dangerous situation of affairs, unknown to me in such an extent, I added, that this affected me the more, as my long illness, and total seclusion from all public business, put it out of my power to be of the least service.—This, Madam, is the whole I was privy to in this affair, and all that passed between Sir James and me upon it.

If any further explanation can be necessary from my father, respecting either the design or purport of his message, he allows me to say, in his name, that he did (perhaps erroneously) consider Dr. Addington's representations of Lord Chatham's manner of speaking of him, as reported at the time by Sir James Wright, to be intimations thrown out by his Lordship, in order to know his (my father's) sentiments upon the subject of his coming then into administration: for which reason my father did not scruple to send a message by the person from whom he derived his information, signifying, that if Lord Chatham was appointed to administration, the hearty concurrence of his judgment and sincere wishes of success would follow that appointment. He avers, at the same time, that he did not conceive a thought of proposing himself to his Lordship for any office, or of accepting any office with him, his own inclination having never prompted him, nor his state of health admitted him, to engage in public business, except on very few occasions in the House of Lords, from the time of his quitting the Treasury in 1763; neither did he entertain an idea of suggesting to Lord Chatham any arrangement of an administration, his wishes, and the communication of them through Sir James Wright, having solely regarded Lord Chatham. There is another passage in your publication, which appears to me more material still with respect to my father, than what I have already mentioned. This is the copy of a note from Lord Chatham in his own hand-writing to Dr. Addington, saying, *the next attempt he (Sir James Wright) makes to surprise friendly integrity with courtly insinuation, let him know that his great patron and your village friend differ in this; one has brought the King and Kingdom to ruin, the other would sincerely endeavour to save it.*

Here

Here is a letter under the Earl of Chatham's hand, vouched to be such by the authority of his family, imputing to Lord Bute those counsels, which Lord Chatham says (whether justly or erroneously, is not the present question) have ruined the King and Kingdom. Every reader will at once have understood this imputation to be founded on Lord Chatham's opinion of Lord Bute's secret influence (as it is called) by which he has been imagined to dictate or controul the measures of the cabinet ever since the Earl of Chatham left it. Lord Bute has not been ignorant of the long prevalence of that error, having seen himself most injuriously treated in consequence of it, for many years past, by writers of pamphlets, newspaper essays, and political paragraphs; all which he passed over in silent indignation and contempt: but when he sees the same cruel mistakes advanced and countenanced by such an authority as the Earl of Chatham, he thinks he should be wanting to himself if he did not encounter it with the best evidence that can be supposed to lie within his reach.

There are but two persons in the kingdom who are capable of knowing the negative of that opinion with absolute certainty. One of them is of a rank too high to be appealed to, or even mentioned on this occasion; the other is himself. He does therefore authorize me to say, that he declares upon his solemn word of honour, that he has not had the honour of waiting on his Majesty but at his levee or drawing-room, nor has he presumed to offer an advice or opinion concerning the disposition of offices, or the conduct of measures, either directly or indirectly, by himself or any other, from the time when the late Duke of Cumberland was consulted in the arrangement of a ministry in 1765, to the present hour.

Before I conclude, I must apprise your readers, that I do not intend to set up for a newspaper author, or to answer questions, objections, or observations, or to engage in printed altercation with any body.

I am, &c.

MOUNTSTUART.

Harley-street, Thursday, Oct. 29, 1778.

A LETTER appeared in the papers of October 26, signed by Lord Mountstuart, of which I think it incumbent upon me to take public notice, and I should have done so sooner, if I had not been, at that time, at some distance from London. His Lordship's letter contains some passages which I think injurious to my father's memory, as well as observations on an *Authentic Account*, &c. (which lately appeared in print) which seem to require an answer from Lord Chatham's family. I wish it had fallen to some other hand to discharge this debt to my father's memory; at the same time, my impatience to vindicate his conduct, and to free this subject from misconstruction, cannot, I am persuaded, stand in need of any excuse, either towards Lord Mountstuart, or towards the public.

Lord Mountstuart, in the beginning of his letter, says, that no less than three reports of negotiations between my father and Lord Bute reached him in the course

course of last spring. One of them appears to have arisen from the transaction between Sir James Wright and Doctor Addington, of which the public have heard so much already.—Another from that affair in which Mr. Dagge was concerned, which I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.—And the third report, which Lord Mountstuart alludes to, I suppose to be the same with that mentioned in a paper drawn up at Lord Mountstuart's request by Mr. Martyn. If it is, I can only say, that I have been assured by my brother-in-law, Lord Mahon, that my father himself told him, that Lord Bute's name was not mentioned in the affair which has occasioned that report.

Lord Mountstuart afterwards alludes to the abstract, or digest, drawn up by his friend on the subject of the negotiation between my father and Lord Bute. I think it right to declare, that that paper, which was sent to my mother, at her request, by Lord Bute, together with the declarations of Sir James Wright and other concurring reports, tended, in the opinion of the family, to bring imputations on my father's character, which they could not suffer to pass unnoticed. The persons therefore who compiled those papers sent to Lady Chatham, or who propagated such injurious reports, were, in fact, the causes of the Authentic Account being drawn up and circulated.

I shall now proceed to take notice of the remarks made by Lord Mountstuart on the concluding proposition of the Authentic Account, which is, "*That the late Earl of Chatham not only did not court a political negotiation with the Earl of Bute, but without hesitation, peremptorily rejected every idea of acting with his Lordship in administration.*" His Lordship says, "that the proposition does not only concern Lord Chatham's rejection of every idea, &c. but involves in it a strong implication, as if Lord Bute had desired and proposed to take a part in administration with him." To this I say, that the proposition, as quoted above, does not necessarily involve such an implication, nor is it any where asserted in the *Authentic Account*, that Lord Bute did make any such proposal. The proposition only implies (what I think the *Authentic Account* fully proves) that what was reported to Lord Chatham by Dr. Addington, was brought to him *as coming from Lord Bute*. Whether the ideas thus conveyed to Lord Chatham originated entirely with Sir James Wright—whether they arose from misapprehensions of Dr. Addington, or whether they proceeded from Lord Bute himself, it is equally incontestible, in every one of these cases, that they came to Lord Chatham in the manner stated in the *Authentic Account*, Lord Chatham could consider those ideas only in the shape in which they came to him, and his messages in consequence are sufficient to shew his determination on this subject, without our enquiring how far the advances made to him were or were not authorized by Lord Bute. The sole motive of drawing up the *Authentic Account*, was the desire of vindicating my father's memory, and not any wish to affect the character of Lord Bute. If any one by reading the *Authentic Account*, is led to form any opinion relative to Lord Bute, it must be from the nature of the papers contained in it (which were necessary to be produced for my father's justification) and not from any assertion made or implied in any part of the account.

account. Whoever has read it must have observed, that it consists of written and indisputable evidence, and does not contain a single word beyond that evidence, excepting only the few introductory lines, — the allusion to various conversations which had passed between Sir James Wright and Dr. Addington, previous to the 3d of February, which circumstance, I am persuaded, cannot be called in question; — the mention of Lord Chatham's conversation with Dr. Addington, and his declaration relative to Lord Bute and North, which no one can pretend to controvert — and finally, the concluding proposition, of the truth of which the public must judge, by considering the facts from which it is deduced. With respect to Dr. Addington's Narrative, it was, by his permission, added in the Appendix, in order to throw light upon some part of the transactions. If Sir James Wright contests any thing advanced in the Doctor's Narrative, the public judgment will finally rest on the comparative degree of credit due to those two gentlemen, and upon the probability or improbability of their respective assertions.

Lord Mountstuart also says, "that he does not at all enter into the question, whether Lord Chatham did or did not court a negotiation with the Earl of Bute." If his Lordship had strictly adhered to this intention through the remainder of his letter, these remarks would have been less necessary.

His Lordship then endeavours to prove, "That my father, at the time of dictating his answer to Sir James Wright's first letter, had not resolved to reject all ideas of negotiation with Lord Bute." Now, if Lord Mountstuart means by this, that Lord Chatham would not, from any personal objection to Lord Bute, have refused to listen to such proposals, as might be perfectly consistent with his honour and his principles, and which he might have accepted with the prospect of being serviceable to his country, *merely because they came through his Lordship*; Lord Mountstuart can deduce from this nothing that in any way affects the present question. — If, on the other hand, he means that Lord Chatham had not resolved to reject a negotiation of any other description, or that there was any time when he would not have rejected every idea of acting with Lord Bute in administration; this opinion is utterly without foundation, and no argument has been produced in support of it.

The expressions which Lord Mountstuart quotes from my father's note are these: that "*Lord Chatham heard with particular satisfaction the favourable sentiments of his subject on the noble Lord with whom Sir James Wright had talked,*" and that "*zeal, duty, and obedience might outlive hope,*" (even under the impending ruin of the kingdom). Now what does the first of these expressions amount to, but that Lord Chatham heard with much satisfaction, those high expressions of approbation, and explicit offers of concurrence, from one who was generally thought (no matter how truly) to have so much influence in the government of this country, which were conveyed in Sir James Wright's first letter, with the express desire that they might be communicated through Dr. Addington to Lord Chatham? — And what is the meaning of the second expression, but that Lord Chatham, however desperate he thought the situation of public affairs,

would still perform the duties of a good subject, in endeavouring to prevent, if possible, the final ruin of the kingdom? It is impossible therefore to argue from either of these expressions, which were written in answer to Sir James Wright, that my father either courted a negotiation with Lord Bute, or was willing to act with his Lordship in administration; unless it can be pretended that the profession of *zeal, duty, and obedience*, are to be referred to Lord Bute. Let it also be remembered, that the very message from which Lord Mountstuart has quoted the expressions above recited, contains in it the declaration of Lord Chatham's opinion, "*That, if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new counsels and new counsellors, without further loss of time, a REAL CHANGE from sincere conviction of past errors, and not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless*," which words were considered by James Wright, and, (as appears from Sir James's letter of February 7th) were considered by Lord Bute himself, as including his Lordship as well as the ministry.

1 Lord Mountstuart next attempts to shew, "that Lord Chatham, at the beginning of the present year, was *looking out* for a negotiation with Lord Bute." It is not very clear what exactly is meant by that expression. I cannot imagine Lord Mountstuart to have intended to imply, that Lord Chatham expected a negotiation would be begun on the part of Lord Bute; because that would seem as if Lord Mountstuart admitted that there was ground for such an expectation. But, if he intended by this expression to convey, that Lord Chatham was disposed to court a negotiation with the Earl of Bute, I must take the liberty to assert, that the circumstance he refers to is no proof of such a position. The affair mentioned by Lord Mountstuart, in which Mr. Dagge was concerned, was reported to Lord Chatham by his nephew, Mr. Thomas Pitt, (who is at present out of England) and it is from him that Lord Mountstuart must have received the account he alludes to. His Lordship has not thought proper to lay that paper before the public, and therefore I need not enlarge upon the subject; but I am confident Mr. Pitt cannot have asserted any thing which has the most remote tendency to prove that Lord Chatham was at any time *looking out* for a negotiation with Lord Bute. The only reason alledged by Lord Mountstuart for thinking that he was, amounts to no more than this: That Lord Bute did speak respectfully of Lord Chatham to Mr. Dagge, and did declare his opinion, that *Lord Chatham's services must of course be called for in the present crisis*. That Mr. Dagge did communicate this to Lord Chatham's nephew, Mr. Thomas Pitt. That he did go to Hayes, in order to report this to Lord Chatham—and that Lord Chatham did in consequence imagine, that it was meant by Lord Bute to be communicated to him. On this I do not think it necessary to make any observation. I must however add, that those who received an account of this affair from my father's own mouth, know, that he was so far from welcoming these unauthorized advances, with the view of improving them into farther negotiation, that he expressed, in the strongest terms, his dislike to such a mode of application.

Lord

Lord Mountstuart observes, that Lord Chatham's declaration to Dr. Addington, "*that it was impossible for him to serve the public with either Lord Bute or Lord North,*" is no proof that Lord Bute offered to serve the public in a ministry with Lord Chatham. It was never intended as a proof of that matter; but merely as an evidence of Lord Chatham's resolution not to act in administration with Lord Bute. To that point Dr. Addington's evidence is conclusive; for however other parts of his Narrative may be contradicted by Sir James Wright, it is impossible for Sir James to dispute his account of the conversation between Lord Chatham and the Doctor, at Hayes. There are, however, other persons, besides Dr. Addington, to whom Lord Chatham has made the strongest declarations to the same purpose; and the more his conduct is canvassed, the more proofs will appear of this unalterable resolution.

I must now add a few words with regard to the extract of Lord Bute's letter to my mother, which is quoted by Lord Mountstuart. Lord Bute mentions, "that Sir James Wright communicated to him the very flattering language in which Sir James declared Lord Chatham expressed himself concerning Lord Bute." I am very far from questioning, that Sir James Wright expressed himself in the manner stated by Lord Bute; but I must observe, that Sir James does not pretend to have heard that Lord Chatham held such language, from any other person than from Dr. Addington; and whoever will take the trouble to recur to the Doctor's Narrative, will there find that the Doctor, in the beginning of this transaction, declared to Sir James Wright, that, to the best of his remembrance, *Lord Chatham had never once named Lord Bute to him.*

Lord Bute, in another part of his letter, says, "that he was extremely surprised with a conversation Sir James said Dr. Addington wished to be reported to him. It was in substance Lord Chatham's opinion of the alarming condition we were in, and the necessary measures to be immediately taken upon it." Lord Bute cannot possibly here refer to any thing, except to the paper, No. II. which is printed in the Authentic Account. The opinion contained in that paper of the *necessary measures* to be taken, is only in *general terms*, "that, *if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new counsels and new counsellors, &c.*" and this communication did not proceed spontaneously from my father, but was in answer to Sir James Wright's letter, of February 2, which was by his desire communicated to Lord Chatham.

The latter part of Lord Mountstuart's letter relates to Lord Chatham's expression, *That Lord Bute had brought the King and Kingdom to ruin.* What reason Lord Chatham had at that time for thinking that Lord Bute influenced the measures of government, it would be presumption in me to examine; nor is it for me to enquire, whether he was or was not deceived in his opinion of the public ruin. But in this single instance, those who revere his memory the most will sincerely rejoice (as he himself would were he living) if they should find his opinion disproved by the event.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM PITT.

An Account of the Funeral of the Earl of Chatham.

IN consequence of the Address of the House of Commons on the 11th of May 1778, the body lay in state in the Painted Chamber on the 7th and 8th of June.

Tuesday, the 9th, at two o'clock, the funeral procession began from the Painted Chamber, through Westminster Hall, New Palace Yard, part of Parliament-street, Bridge-street and King-street, the Broad Sanctuary to the West door of Westminster Abbey.

Order of the Procession.

High Constable of Westminster.

Messenger to the College of Arms, in a mourning cloak, with a badge of the College on his shoulder, his staff tipped with silver, and furled with linnin.

Six men conductors, in cloaks, with black staves headed with Earls coronets.

Seventy poor men, in cloaks, with the badges of the crest of Pitt on their shoulders, and black staves in their hands.

The Standard.

Twelve servants to the deceased, in close mourning.

Officers of the wardrobe.

Physicians and Divines, in close mourning.

Three chaplains to the deceased.

Officers who attended the body while it lay in state, in close mourning.

Gentlemen and Esquires, in close mourning.

Blue mantle pursuivant of arms.

A banner of the barony of Chatham, borne by Colonel Barre, attended by the Dukes of Northumberland, Manchester, and Richmond, and the Marquis of Rockingham, in close mourning.

The Great Banner.

The helmet and crest borne by Somerset herald.

The sword and targe by Windsor herald.

The surcoat by Richmond herald.

The coronet on a black velvet cushion by Norroy King of Arms, between two gentlemen ushers, with half staves.

Supporters

Three bannerolls of the family lineage, borne by three Esquires.	Supporters of the pall, Edm. Burke, Esq. Sir Geo. Sa- ville, Bart.	The BODY, covered with a black velvet pall, adorned with eight es- cutcheons of the Earl's arms, under a canopy of black velvet, supported by eight gentle- men.	Supporters of the pall. John Dunning, Esq. Rt. Hon. Tho. Townsend.	Three bannerolls of the family lineage, borne by three Esquires.
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The picture of Britannia weeping over the arms of Chatham, painted on farfnet.

A Gentleman Usher, with a half staff.	Clarenceux King of Arms, Deputy to Garter King of Arms.	A Gentleman Usher, with a half staff.
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Supporters to the Chief Mourner.	Chief Mourner.	Supporter to the Chief Mourner.
Wm Nedham, Esq.	Hon. Wm Pitt.	Tho. Pitt, Esq.

Eight assistant mourners.

Earl of Cholmondeley.	Earl of Abingdon.
Earl Harcourt.	Earl of Effingham.
Lord Fortescue.	Lord Viscount Townsend.
Lord Camden.	Lord Wycomb.

Banner of the crest of Pitt.

Relations of the deceased.

Cha. Visc. Mahon, eldest son of Philip Earl of Stan-
hope, and son-in-law to the deceased.

Thomas Grenville, Esq.	Richard Berenger, Esq.
Col. Rich. Grenville.	George Grenville, Esq.
Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart.	James Grenville, Esq.
William Henry Lord Westcote.	Philip Earl Stanhope.
	George Lord de Ferras.
	Sir Ja. Cockburne, Bart.

Banner of the arms of Pitt.

The procession closed by servants of the family, in close mourning.

The six conductors, and seventy poor men, were divided and ranged on each side without the church-door, and the rest of the procession within the church.

At the entrance of Westminster Abbey (within the door) the Dean and Prebendaries, with the Choir, fell into the procession immediately after the Great Banner, and before the Heralds, who bore the trophies.

The

The Chief Mourner and his two Supporters were seated on chairs at the head of the body; stools were placed on the sides of the grave for the eight assistant mourners, and one at each end for the four supporters of the pall.

During the service in the church, the coronet and cushion were placed on the body, and the canopy and bannerolls held over it: the trophies were laid on a table placed behind the Chief Mourner's chair, covered with a black silk carpet fringed.

The service over, Clarenceux, Deputy to Garter, proclaimed the style; and the Earl's three officers breaking their staves, gave the pieces to Garter, who threw them into the grave.

The standard, banners, bannerolls, and trophies, having been deposited in the church, the procession returned to the Painted Chamber in the same order.

The service was read by the Bishop of Rochester.

The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester attended the funeral service.

Upon the coffin was a silver plate, on which was the following inscription:

The most noble and puissant William Pitt Earl of Chatham, Viscount Pitt, of Burton-Pynsent, in the county of Somerset. Born the 15th of November 1708. Died at Hayes, in Kent, the 11th of May 1778.

His Lordship lies interred about twenty yards from the North entrance of Westminster Abbey.

Several Irish Earls and Viscounts attended; as did Sir William Draper, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, General Burgoyne, and several English Lords.

The following is a Description of the Monument in Westminster Abbey.

THERE are six figures in this monument, and yet the idea on which it is designed is the simplest possible. Lord Chatham, with Prudence and Fortitude on a sarcophagus, occupy the upper part; the lower group consists of Britannia seated on a rock, with the Ocean and the Earth at her feet, by which is exhibited the effect of his wisdom and fortitude, in the greatness and glory of the nation. The statue of the Earl is in his parliamentary robes; he is in the action of speaking, the right hand thrown forward and elevated, and the whole attitude strongly expressing that species of oratory for which his Lordship was so justly celebrated. Prudence has her usual symbols, a serpent twisted round a mirror; Fortitude is characterised by the shaft of a column, and is cloathed in a lion's skin. The energy of this figure strongly contrasts the repose and contemplative character of the figure of Prudence. Britannia, as mistress of the sea, holds in her right hand the trident of Neptune; Ocean is entirely naked, except that his symbol, the dolphin, is so managed that decency is perfectly secured with the least possible detriment to the statue; his action is agitated, and his countenance severe, which is opposed by the utmost ease in the figure of the Earth, who is leaning on a terrestrial globe, her head crowned with fruit, which also lies

lies in some profusion on the plinth of the statue — The inscription is as follows:

Erected by the King and Parliament,
As a Testimony to
The Virtues and Ability
of
WILLIAM PITT, Earl of CHATHAM,
During whose Administration
Divine Providence
Exalted Great Britain
To an Height of Prosperity and Glory
Unknown to any former Age.

An Account of the Proceedings of the City of London, on the Death of the Earl of Chatham.

ON the twentieth day of May, 1778, a Court of Common Council was held at Guildhall, when the first business that came on was a motion,

“ That it be referred to a Committee to prepare a petition to the House of Commons, expressing the gratitude which the Court feel for the several tributes paid by them to the memory of the late Earl of Chatham, and representing in very respectful terms to the said House, that this Court intreat their favourable interpretation of their wish, humbly to address his Majesty, that the said Earl may be deposited in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul;” upon which a Committee was appointed, who withdrew immediately, and returning into Court, presented a petition for the above, which being twice read, was agreed to and ordered to be signed by the Town Clerk, and presented forthwith to the Hon. the House of Commons.

“ Resolved, That the desire of the Court of Common Council is to attend the funeral of the Earl of Chatham in their gowns.

“ Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to prepare a letter to the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty’s Household, requesting that such their desire may be humbly signified to his Majesty, and that his faithful citizens pray his Majesty to be graciously pleased to order the necessary notice to be given, in case his Majesty should be pleased to acquiesce in their attendance, by the proper officer.” The Committee being appointed, accordingly withdrew, and returning, presented a letter, which being read, was agreed to, and ordered to be forwarded to the Lord Chamberlain by Mr. Remembrancer.”

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the City of London, in Common Council assembled,

SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners humbly beg leave to return their grateful thanks to this honourable House, for the noble and generous testimony which it has borne to the services and merits of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

And your petitioners, with all humility, desire, that their zeal may not seem unpleasing to this Honourable House, or be interpreted as a wish in your petitioners to vary from the general sense of their country, as expressed in the late votes of this honourable House, by their requesting, That the remains of the late Earl of Chatham be deposited in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the city of London.

Your petitioners farther represent to this honourable House, that they entirely feel the delicacy of their situation, in consequence of the several measures taken by this honourable House; but hope that a favourable interpretation will be put upon any particular marks of gratitude and veneration which the first commercial city of the empire is earnest to express towards the Statesman, whose vigour and counsels had so much contributed to the protection and extension of its commerce.

By order of the Court,

RIX.

This petition was ordered to lie upon the table.

At another Court of Common Council held at Guildhall, on the twenty-fifth of May, the following address and petition to the King was agreed to. And the Sheriff (at that time Mr. Alderman Clarke) being desired to wait upon his Majesty to know when he would receive the said petition, the King asked what was the subject of the petition? The Sheriff answered, that he had no concern with the contents of it; his message was only to ask, when his Majesty would be pleased to receive it; upon which the King answered, *Well, then, let it be Friday se'nnight* (which was the fifth of June). On that day the following address and petition was presented.

To

*To the King's most Excellent Majesty.**The humble Address and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble and dutiful thanks, for the repeated and signal marks of your royal attention to the public sense of gratitude due to the memory of the late William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, as truly expressed by the resolution of the Commons of Great-Britain, in Parliament assembled.

And we humbly hope for your Majesty's most gracious indulgence, when the testimonies, thus paid to the public virtues of this illustrious Statesman, encourage your most faithful corporation to intreat, that the metropolis of your empire may be admitted to a share in the expressions of public veneration to a minister, so exemplary for his integrity, ability and virtue. For this purpose we humbly beseech your Majesty, in your royal condescension, would give permission, that the remains of the said Earl of Chatham be deposited in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the city of London.

We hope that we are not guilty of unwarrantable presumption in conceiving, that our wishes on this subject, are not inconsistent with those of the Hon. House of Commons; and we flatter ourselves, that if your Majesty should graciously acquiesce in this our humble prayer, it cannot fail to be agreeable to the family of the deceased, whose attention to us on all proper occasions it is our pride to remember, who condescended to become our fellow citizen, and to whom, could he have foreseen it, we are convinced this attempt to cherish his memory would not have been unacceptable.

And we beg farther humbly to represent to your Majesty, that we feel ourselves sincerely happy in thinking, that in this our humble petition we shew our duty and attachment to our most gracious Sovereign, and the illustrious House of Brunswick, by our respect to one of their most zealous and faithful servants; at the same time that we express our gratitude, as a commercial body, to a man, who so signally supported its interests: and humbly pray, that the noblest edifice in your Majesty's dominions, may become the depository of the remains of one among the noblest of your subjects.

His Majesty's Answer.

In consequence of the address of the House of Commons, That a monument should be erected to the memory of the late Earl of Chatham in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, it has been ordered that his remains be there interred, and necessary preparations have been made for that purpose.

On the sixth of June, another Court of Common Council was held at Guildhall, when the Lord Mayor had acquainted the Court with the King's answer to their address and petition, a debate ensued, in consequence of Lord Hertford's letter to the Remembrancer, in answer to a message from the Court, the copies of which are as follows:

" My Lord,

" His Majesty's faithful Corporation of London, wishing to shew every proper respect in their power to the memory of his Majesty's late zealous and most disinterested servant and subject, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and wishing to express their own particular gratitude to the memory of that illustrious statesman, who so gloriously protected the commerce of his country, desire your Lordship humbly to request his Majesty, that his faithful corporation may receive timely notice from the proper officers of such his Majesty's gracious acquiescence, together with the necessary instructions for regulating their attendance.

I am, my Lord, &c.

PETER ROBERTS."

Lord Hertford's Letter.

" S I R,

" HAVING through your hands, received the request of the Corporation of London, praying his Majesty to permit them to attend the funeral of the late Earl of Chatham, I am to acquaint you, that I have laid the same before his Majesty, who is pleased to comply with the said request, and has directed me to give public and timely notice of the said funeral, that all such gentlemen of the Corporation who propose it may have an opportunity of attending as they desired.

I am, Sir, &c.

Grosvenor-street, May 25.

HERTFORD."

ESDALE,

E S D A I L E, MAYOR,

A Common Council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Saturday the 6th day of June, 1778.

THIS Court not having yet received any answer to their desire of having timely notice to attend the funeral of the late Earl of Chatham, and information having been given by a member of this Court, that that solemnity is ordered for Tuesday next, it is therefore now resolved, that the former resolution for attending the funeral of the said Earl be rescinded.

His Majesty having refused to comply with the request of this Court, on their humble desire to have the remains of the late Earl of Chatham buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul, Resolved unanimously, nevertheless, that a committee be now appointed to consider what further mark of respect is most fit to perpetuate the memory of that excellent and disinterested statesman, in the time of whose administration the citizens of London never returned from the throne dissatisfied.

In consequence of the Remembrancer having been called upon by this Court, to state what passed in the King's closet, when the Sheriff last attended St. James's, and it appearing that an unusual question had been asked, to which the Sheriff declined giving an answer—Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of this Court be given to Mr. Sheriff Clark, for his very prudent conduct upon that occasion.

RIX.

The Committee resolved, That a magnificent monument to the memory of the deceased Earl of Chatham, should be erected in Guildhall. And the Court agreed to the report of the Committee.

The following is a Description of the Cenotaph, erected in Guildhall, to the memory of the Earl of Chatham.

ELEVATED on a base, fixed to a rock, the Earl of Chatham, in the habit of a Roman senator, appears gracefully looking on a figure representing the City of London; his left hand sustains the helm of government, whilst his right embraces Commerce, who, charged with her proper attributes, is most delightfully smiling on her kind protector, through whose zeal, assisted by the four quarters of the world, she is pouring plenty into the lap of Britannia.

The City, in her mural crown, with a look of gratitude, is addressing her noble friend, pointing the while to Commerce; at her feet are placed the em-

blems of industry, and on her right hand those of Justice and Power. Upon the plinth is engraved the following inscription:

" In grateful acknowledgment to the Supreme Disposer of events, who, intending to advance this nation for such time as to his wisdom seemed good, to an high pitch of prosperity and glory, by unanimity at home—by confidence and reputation abroad—by alliance, wisely chosen and faithfully observed—by colonies united and protected—by decisive victories by sea and land—by conquests made by arms and generosity in every part of the globe—and by commerce, for the first time, united with, and made to flourish by war—was pleased to raise up as the principal instrument in this memorable work,

WILLIAM PITT.

" The Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, mindful of the benefits which the City of London received in her ample share in the general prosperity, have erected to the memory of this eminent statesman and powerful orator, this monument in her Guildhall; that her citizens may never meet for the transaction of their affairs, without being reminded, that the means by which Providence raises a nation to greatness, are the virtues infused into great men; and that to withhold from those virtues, either of the living or the dead, the tribute of esteem and veneration, is to deny to themselves the means of happiness and honour.

" This distinguished person for the service rendered to King George II. and to King George III. was created

LORD CHATHAM.

" The British nation honoured his memory with a public funeral and a public monument, amongst her illustrious men in Westminster Abbey.

Under this is an oval medallion, charged with the cap of Liberty, inscribed upon the front *Libertas*, richly adorned with lawrels, festoons, &c.—The back of the whole is a slab of most beautiful variegated marble.

A beautiful

A beautiful marble Urn is put up at Burton Pynsent, by the Countess of Chatham; upon which is the following:

Sacred to pure affection
 This simple Urn
 Stands a witness of unceasing grief for Him
 Who,
 Excelling in whatever is most admirable,
 And adding to the exercise of the sublimest virtues
 The sweet charm of refined sentiment
 And polish'd wit,
 By gay, social commerce
 Render'd, beyond comparison, happy
 The course of domestic life,
 And bestowed a felicity inexpressible
 On Her,
 Whose faithful Love was blessed in a pure return
 That rais'd her above every other joy
 But the parental one—
 And that still shared with him.
 His generous country with public monuments
 Has eternized his fame;
 This humble tribute
 Is but to soothe the sorrowing breast
 Of private woe.

The foregoing inscription is on the pedestal of the Urn. On the front of the Urn is a medallion, with the head of the late Earl of CHATHAM; and on the opposite side of the Urn is another medallion, in which the following words are contained:

To
 The Dear Memory
 Of
 William Pitt,
 Earl of Chatham,
 This marble
 Is inscribed,
 By Hester,
 His beloved wife.

This Urn and the two Monuments were executed by Mr. Bacon.

A GENE-

They are as follows:

John Pitt (the third in descent) who married Joan Swaine, had issue three sons and two daughters.

1. Agnes, married to Anthony Dennet.
2. Elizabeth married to Jonadab Shirley.
3. Sir William, married to Edith Cadbury (*as in the table*).
4. John, settled in Ireland.
5. Thomas, seated at Blandford in Dorsetshire. He married Priscilla, the daughter of — Serle, Esq. of Hayle, in Devon; by whom he had two daughters and five sons.

1. Temperance married to — Cockran, Esq.
2. Margaret, to Augustine Drake, Esq.
3. Robert, of Blandford, who married Margaret, daughter of John Guy, Esq.
4. John, *of whom hereafter*.
5. William, who died without issue in 1687.
6. Edward.
7. Christopher.

Which John was Rector of Blandford 1641. He married Sarah, daughter of John Jay, Esq. by whom he had nine children.

1. John, born in 1649.
2. Sarah, married in 1670, to the Rev. Henry Willis, afterwards Rector of Blandford.
3. Thomas, born in 1653, who was Governor of Fort St. George, in the East Indies.
4. George.
5. Dorothy.
6. Richard.
7. Edward. } Died young.

Two who died infants.

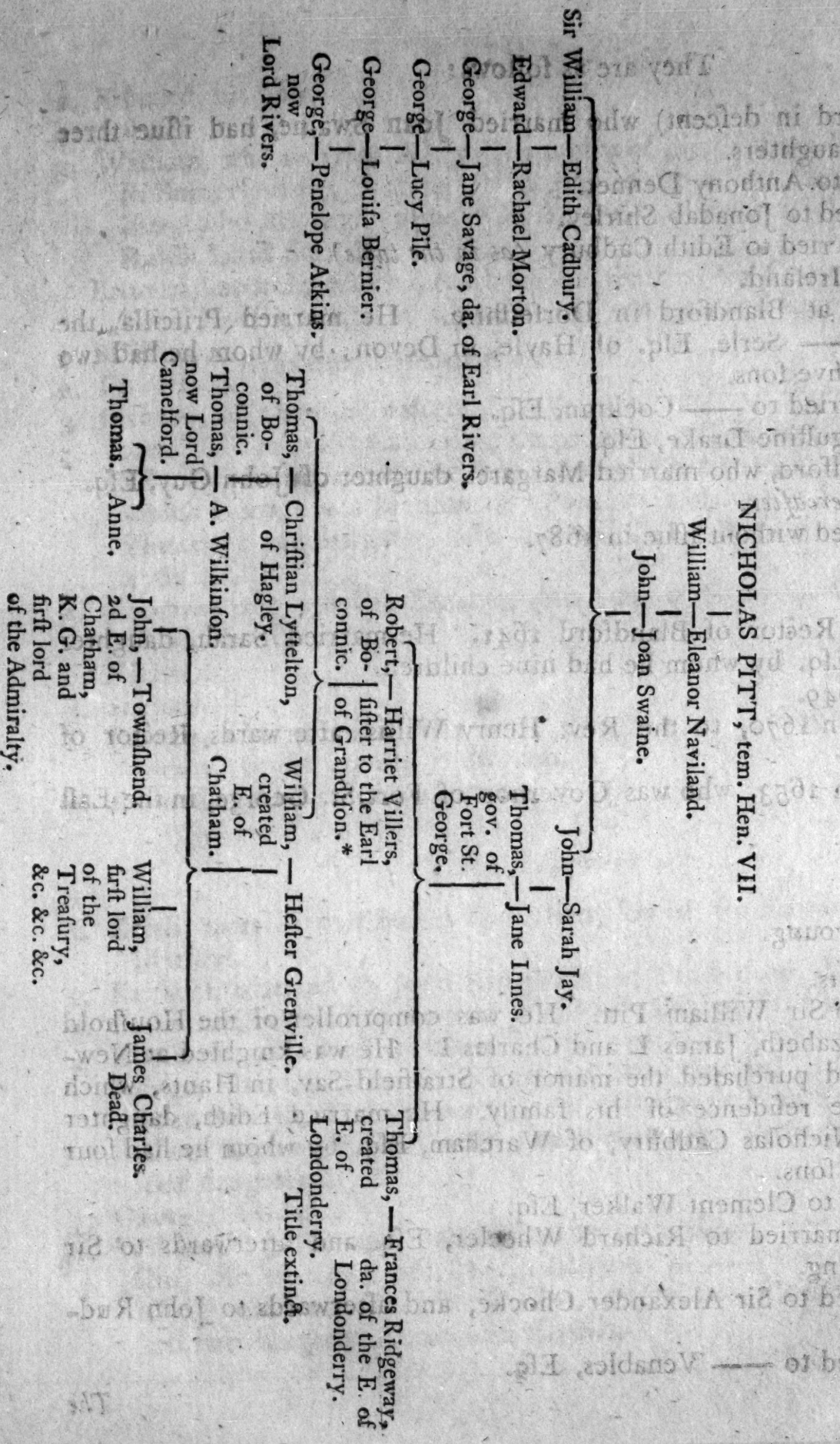
We now return to Sir William Pitt. He was comptroller of the Household in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. He was knighted at Newmarket in 1618, and purchased the manor of Stratfield-Say, in Hants, which continues to be the residence of his family. He married Edith, daughter and co-heiress of Nicholas Cadbury, of Wareham, Esq. by whom he had four daughters and three sons.

1. Frances, married to Clement Walker, Esq.
2. Elizabeth, first married to Richard Wheeler, Esq. and afterwards to Sir Francis Brandling.
3. Mary, first married to Sir Alexander Chocke, and afterwards to John Rudhall, Esq.
4. Catherine, married to — Venables, Esq.

The

The other branches extend to so many families, it is impossible to include them all in a table. who married A. J. Mafon, Esq. Lord Chatham in 1766 created her Countess of Grandison. Her eldest son now enjoys the title.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE PEERAGES IN THE FAMILY OF PITT.



* The Earl of Grandison's children all dying issueless, except one daughter, who married A. J. Mafon, Esq. Lord Chatham in 1766 created her Countess of Grandison. Her eldest son now enjoys the title.

The other branches extend to so many families, it is impossible to include them all in a table.

The sons were

1. Edward, his heir.
 2. John, who married Abigail, daughter of Sir William Wake, of Cleveland.
 3. William, who married Abigail, daughter of Sir William Wake, of Cleveland, in Somersetshire. But by whom he had three sons, Edward, Baldwin, William, who all died without issue, and a daughter, Abigail, who married Ralph Lord Sewell.
 4. Edward, the heir married Richard, daughter of Sir George Morton, of Melbourn, Bedfordshire. But by whom he had ten sons and four daughters.
 5. William, who married Frances, daughter of Giles Colley, of Compton, in Gloucestershire.
 6. Nicholas.
 7. Samuel.
 8. Francis, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Jeffrey Jefferys, of Abercrombie, in the county of Brecon.
 9. Edward, who married Anne, daughter of Lord Montagu.
- The daughters were
1. Edith, married to Charles Sydenham, son of Sir Edward Sydenham, Knight Marshal.
 2. Rachel, married to John Kingmill, of Sandellford, Berks, Esq.
 3. Catherine, married to Francis Wharke, Esq. of St. Martin's, Middlesex.
 4. Elizabeth, who died an infant.
 5. George, the eldest surviving son and heir, married Jane, eldest daughter of John Savage, Esq. Rivers (widow of George Lord Sudley) and co-heiress of her nephew, Lord Morley and Montagu. By her he had four sons and four daughters.
 6. George, his heir.
 7. William, 3. Edward, - Born without issue.
 8. John, who married first Mary, daughter of ———— Scrope, Esq. but had no issue; and secondly, Isabella, daughter of ———— Gordon, Esq. by whom he had two daughters, Lois and Isabella.

The Sons were,

1. Edward, his heir.
 2. John.
 3. William, who married Abigail, daughter of Sir William Wake, of Cleveland, in Somersetshire, Bart. by whom he had three sons, Edward, Baldwin, William, who all died without issue; and a daughter, Abigail, who married Ralph Lord Stawell.
- Edward, the heir, married Rachael, daughter of Sir George Morton, of Melborn, Dorset, Bart. by whom he had ten sons and four daughters.
1. William. } Both died without issue.
 2. Edward. }
 3. George, of whom hereafter.
 4. John. He married Catherine, daughter of Nicholas Venables, of Andover, Esq. by whom he had one son, George Morton Pitt, of Twickenham, Esq. which George was Member for Pomfret, and died in January 1756, leaving issue only one daughter, who married Lord Brownlow Bertie, and died in 1763.
 5. Thomas, who married Frances, daughter of Giles Coffey, of Compton, in Gloucestershire.
 6. Nicholas.
 7. Samuel.
 8. Francis, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Jeffrey Jefferyes, of Abercunick, in the county of Brecon.
 9. Edward. And 10. Christopher.

His Daughters were,

1. Edith, married to Charles Sydenham, son of Sir Edward Sydenham, Knight Marshal.
 2. Rachael, married to John Kingsmill, of Sandelford, Berks, Esq.
 3. Catherine, married to Francis Whitaker, Esq. of St. Martin's, Middlesex.
 4. Elizabeth, who died an infant.
- George, the eldest surviving son and heir, married Jane, eldest daughter of John Savage, Earl Rivers (widow of George Lord Sudley) and co-heiress of her nephew, Lord Morley and Montéagle. By her he had four sons and four daughters.
1. George, his heir.
 2. William. 3. Edward. Both died without issue.
 4. John, who married, first, Mary, daughter of — Scroope, Esq. but had no issue; and secondly, Isabella, daughter of — Condon, Esq. by whom he had two daughters, Lora and Isabella.

The

The Daughters were,

1. Mary, married to Sir W. Brown, of Kiddington, Oxon. Bart.
 2. Elizabeth, married to Thomas Viscount Fitzwilliam.
 3. Jane, married to Christopher Hildyard, Esq.
 4. Anne, married to Frederick Tylney, Esq.
- George, eldest son and heir, married, first, Lucy, daughter of Thomas Pile, of Beeverstock, Wilts, Esq. widow of Lawrence Lowe, of Shaftesbury, Esq. by whom he had two sons and one daughter.

1. George, his heir.
2. Thomas, who died without issue.
3. Lucy, who died unmarried.

He married, secondly, Lora, daughter and heiress of Audley Grey, of Kingston, Dorset, Esq. by whom he had four sons and five daughters.

1. Grey, who died an infant.
2. William, who died without issue.
3. John, of Encombe, in Dorsetshire, who married Marcia, daughter of Marcus Morgan, of Ireland, Esq. by whom he had a daughter, named Marcia, and four sons, 1. William Morton, married in 1782 to Margaret, daughter of John Gambier, one of the Representatives of the county of Dorset; 2. George, who died in 1768; 3. Charles; and 4. John, who died infants.
4. John, who died without issue.

His Daughters were,

1. Elizabeth, married to William Burton, Esq.
2. Lora, married to Francis Gwynn, of Ford Abbey, in Dorsetshire.
3. Anne.
4. Mary.
5. Mary.

} Both died unmarried.

George, the heir, married Louisa, daughter of —, Bernier, Esq. by whom he had four sons, and two daughters.

1. Lucy, married to James Kerr, of Scotland, Esq.
2. Mary, who died in August 1744.
3. George, created Lord Rivers in 1776.
4. James.
5. Thomas. Both died without issue.
6. William Augustus, married Mary, daughter of Scroope, Lord Howe.

George, Lord Rivers, married, in January 1745, Penelope, daughter of Sir Henry Atkins, of Clapham, Surry, Bart. by whom he has issue one son, George, lately Member for the county of Dorset; and three daughters.

1. Penelope, married to the Earl of Ligonier, and afterwards divorced.
2. Louisa, married to Peter Beckford, Esq.
3. Marcia-Lucy.

Here

Here we must return to the issue of Thomas Pitt, who was Governor of Fort St. George. He was distinguished from the other Governors of that fortress, as well as from the other persons of his family, by the appellation of Diamond Pitt, from the circumstance of his having purchased, while resident at Fort St. George, a very large and very fine diamond, which, when he returned to England in the reign of Queen Anne, he offered to her Majesty, but the ministry declined the purchase of it; upon which it was sold to the Duke of Orleans, at that time Regent of France, and was placed and still continues in the crown of that kingdom. *[For a further account of this diamond, see a note in chapter XXVIII. and Governor Pitt's account of his purchasing it, at the end of this Pedigree.]*

When he returned from the East Indies he was offered a peerage, but he begged the Queen's permission to decline it.

He married Jane Innes, daughter of Adam Innes, of Reid-hall, in the county of Murray, Bart. by whom he had two daughters and three sons.

1. Lucy, married to James, the first Earl of Stanhope.
2. Essex, married to Charles Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal in Cheshire.

The Sons were:

1. Robert, of Bocounic, in Cornwall; of whom hereafter.
2. Thomas, who married Lady Frances Ridgeway, daughter and coheirefs of Robert, Earl of Londonderry; who dying without male issue, he was created first Baron and afterwards Earl of Londonderry. He had two sons, Thomas and Ridgeway, who were successively Earls of Londonderry, and both died unmarried; and one daughter, Lady Lucy, who married Pierce Meyrick, of Bodorgan, in Anglesea, Esq.
3. John; he married Mary, sister of Lord Fauconberg, but had no issue.

Robert of Bocounic married Harriet Villiers, sister to John Earl of Grandison; by whom he had five daughters and two sons.

1. Harriet, married to Sir William Corbet, of Stoke, Salop, Bart.
2. Catherine, married to Robert Nedham, of Ireland, Esq.
3. Anne maid of honour to Queen Caroline, and privy purse to the late Princess of Wales.
4. Elizabeth, married to John Hannam, Esq.
5. Mary.

The Sons were:

1. Thomas of Bocounic, who married Christian Lyttelton, sister to the late George Lord Lyttelton, by whom he had issue two daughters and one son, viz. Amelia, married to William Spry, LL. D. and Christian, married to Thomas Saunders, Esq. Governor of Fort St. George. His son was

Thomas, created Lord Camelford in 1783. He married Anne, daughter and coheir of Pinkney Wilkinson, of Burnham, in Norfolk, Esq. by whom he has one son, Thomas, born in 1775, and Anne, born in 1772.

2. William. (Some particulars of whose life have been the subjects of these sheets). He married Hester Grenville on the 6th of November, 1754, daughter of Richard Grenville, of Wotton, in Bucks, Esq. by Hester, sister to Lord Cobham, of Stowe, in that county. He was created Earl of Chatham, as hath been already mentioned in chapter XXXI. and his Lady was created a peeress in her own right upon his resignation in 1761. See chapter XX. He had issue three sons and two daughters.

1. John, now Earl of Chatham, born October 9, 1756; married on the 9th of July, 1783, to Mary-Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Viscount Sydney; but has no issue. His Lordship was appointed first Lord of the Admiralty in September, 1788, and a Knight of the Garter in 1791.
2. William, born May 28, 1759, appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer July 10, 1782, and first Lord of the Treasury, &c. &c. &c. on the 27th of December, 1783.
3. James-Charles. Dead.

The Daughters were :

1. Lady Hester, married to E. Stanhope. Her Ladyship died in July, 1780.
2. Lady Harriet, married the Hon. E. J. Eliot, heir to Lord Eliot. Her Ladyship died in August, 1786.

There having been several false accounts printed of the sum of money which Governor Pitt, of Fort St. George, gave for his celebrated diamond, he thought proper, in the year 1745, to publish the following true account of that whole transaction.

“ SINCE my coming into this melancholy place of Bergen, I have been often thinking of the most unparalleled villainy of William Frazer, Thomas Frederick, and Smapa, a black merchant, who brought a paper before Governor Addison in council, insinuating, that I had unfairly got possession of a large diamond, which tended so much to the prejudice of my reputation and the ruin of my estate, that I thought necessary to keep by me the true relation how I purchased it in all respects, that so, in case of sudden mortality, my children and friends may be apprized of the whole matter, and so be enabled thereby to put to silence and confound those, and all other villains in their base attempts against either. I having not my books by me at present, I cannot be
positiv

positive as to the time, but for the manner of purchasing it I do here declare and assert, under my hand, in the presence of God Almighty, as I hope for salvation through the merits and intercession of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that this is the truth, and if it be not, let God deny it to me and my children for ever, which I would be so far from saying, much less leave it under my hand, that I would not be guilty of the least untruth in the relation of it for the riches and honour of the whole world.

“ About two or three years after my arrival at Madras, which was in July 1698, I heard there were large diamonds in the country to be sold, which I encouraged to be brought down, promising to be their chapman, if they would be reasonable therein; upon which Jamchund, one of the most eminent diamond merchants in those parts, came down about December 1701, and brought with him a large rough stone, about 305 mangelms, and some small ones, which myself and others bought; but he asking a very extravagant price for the great one, I did not think of meddling with it, when he left it with me for some days, and then came and took it away again, and did so several times, not insisting upon less than 200,000 padagoes; and, as I best remember, I did not bid him above 30,000; and had little thoughts of buying it for that; I considered there were many and great risques to be run, not only in cutting it, but also whether it would prove foul or clean, or the water good; besides, I thought it too great an amount to be adventured home on one bottom: but Jamchund resolved to return speedily to his own country, so that I best remember it was in February following he came again to me (with Vincaty Chittee, who was always with him when I discoursed him about it) and pressed me to know whether I resolved to buy it, when he came down to 100,000 padagoes, and something under, before we parted, when we agreed upon a day to meet, and make a final end thereof one way or other, which I believe was the latter end of the aforesaid month, or the beginning of March; when we accordingly met in the Consultation-room, where, after a great deal of talk, I brought him down to 55,000 padagoes, and advanced to 45,000, resolving to give no more, and he likewise resolving not to abate, so delivered him up the stone, and we took a friendly leave of one another: Mr. Benyon was then writing in my closet, with whom I discoursed what had passed, and told him, now I was clear of it; when about an hour after my servant brought me word that Jamchund and Vincaty Chittee were at the door, who being called in, they used a great many expressions in praise of the stone, and told me he had rather I should buy it than any body, and to give an instance thereof offered it for 50,000; so believing it must be a pennyworth, if it proved good, I offered to part the 5000 padagoes that was then between us, which he would not hearken to, and was going out of the room again, when he turned back and told me, that I should have it for 49,000; but I still adhered to what I had before offered him, when presently he came to 48,000, and made a solemn vow he would not part with it a padagoe under, when I went again into the closet to Mr. Benyon, and told him what had passed, saying, that if it was worth

47,500, it was worth 48,000 *; so I closed with him for that sum, when he delivered me the stone, for which I paid him very honourably, as by my books appears. And I here farther call God to witness, that I never used the least threatening word at any of our meetings to induce him to it sell me; and God himself knows it was never so much as in my thoughts so to do: since which I have had frequent and considerable dealings with this man, and trusted him with several sums of money, and balanced several accounts with him, and left upwards of 2000 padagoes in his hands at my coming away: so had I used the least indirect means to have got it from him, would not he have made himself satisfaction when he has had my money so often in his hands? Or would I have trusted him afterwards, as I did preferable to all other diamond merchants? As this is the truth, so I hope for God's blessing upon this and all my other affairs in this world, and eternal happiness hereafter. Written and signed by me, in Bergen, July 29, 1710.

THO. PITT.

The following is a Copy of Lord Chatham's Will.

The last Will and Testament of Me, William Earl of Chatham.

WHEREAS previous to the marriage of my dear daughter with Lord Mahon, there was a sum of twenty-six thousand pounds, or thereabouts, vested in the public funds, and chargeable upon my estate at Hayes, in Kent; to which said sum I and my dear wife, Lady Chatham, had a power of disposition or appointment, that is to say, to the best of my recollection, in moieties of six thousand pounds, part thereof was settled on or disposed of by me to my said daughter, Lady Mahon, on her marriage aforesaid; wherefore there remains a sum of seven thousand pounds subject to my said disposition or appointment: Now, therefore, I give and bequeath the same in manner following, that is to say, I give and bequeath the sum of three thousand five hundred pounds, part thereof to my dear son, William Pitt, for his own use and benefit; I give and bequeath the sum of one thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, other part thereof, to my dear son, James-Charles Pitt, for his own use and benefit; and I give and bequeath the sum of one thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, residue thereof, to my dear daughter, Lady Harriot Pitt, for her own proper use and benefit. The said three several sums above-mentioned to be paid to my said three children, with all convenient speed after my decease, by my Executors and Trustees hereinafter

* 20,400l. sterling, at 8s. 6d. per padagoe.—The padagoe is now usually estimated at only 8s. sterling.

named.

named. And as to the other moiety of the above-mentioned sum of twenty-six thousand pounds, which I apprehend to be within the disposition of my said dear wife, I do hereby earnestly desire and recommend to my said dear wife, that she will, pursuant to our present wishes and intention, dispose of the same in manner following: And so far as by law I may, I will and direct accordingly, that is to say, that she will be pleased to give so much thereof to my said son, William, as will make what I have herein before bequeathed to him a complete sum of ten thousand pounds; that she will be pleased to give so much thereof to my said son, James-Charles, as will make what I have herein before bequeathed to him a complete sum of five thousand pounds; and that she will be pleased to give so much thereof to my said daughter, Lady Harriott, as will make what I have herein before bequeathed to her a complete sum of five thousand pounds; and as to, for and concerning all the rest and residue of my personal estate whatsoever, and all my real estates wheresoever the same may be situate, lying, and being, I give, devise, and bequeath the same, subject to my debts and legacies, to my dear wife, Lady Chatham, Richard Earl Temple, and Charles Lord Camden, and the survivors and survivor of them, their heirs and assigns, to, for and upon the trusts following, that is to say, in the first place by and out of the said residue of my personal estate, and so much out of my real estate, as they shall think proper to apply for that purpose, to pay off, satisfy, and discharge my just debts, and such legacies as I may hereafter give and bequeath by Codicil to this my Will, or otherwise, together with my funeral expences and the charges of executing this my Will, and the trusts thereof; and in the next place, to permit and suffer my said dear wife to receive and take to her own proper use and benefit, for and during the term of her natural life, the rents, issues, profits, and produce of my said real and personal estates; and from and immediately after her decease, I give and devise all my said real estates, wheresoever situate, lying, or being, to my dear son, Lord Viscount Pitt, for and during the term of his natural life; and from and immediately after her decease, I give and devise the same to the said Richard Earl Temple, and Charles Lord Camden, and the survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns of such survivor in trust, to preserve the contingent remainders hereinafter limited, from being defeated or destroyed; and from and after the death of my said son, Lord Viscount Pitt, I give and devise the same to the first and other son and sons of the body of the said Lord Viscount Pitt, and the issue male of the respective body and bodies, the elder of such son and sons, and their issue male, to take and be preferred before the younger and their issue; and in default of all such issue, I give and devise the same to my dear son, William Pitt, for and during the term of his natural life; and from and immediately after his decease, I give and devise the same to my said Trustees, and the survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns of such survivor, in trust to preserve the contingent remainders hereinafter limited, from being defeated or destroyed; and from and after the death of my said son, William, I give and devise the same to the first and other son and sons of the body of my said son, William, and the issue male of their respective body and bodies, the elder of such son and sons, and their

their issue male, to take and be preferred before the younger and their issue; and in default of all such issue, I give and devise the same to my dear son, James-Charles Pitt, for and during the term of his natural life, and from and immediately after the determination of that estate, I give and devise the same to my said Trustees, and the survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns of such survivor in trust, to preserve the contingent remainders hereinafter limited from being defeated or destroyed; and from and after the death of my said son, James-Charles, I give and devise the same to the first and other son and sons of the body of my said son, James-Charles, and the issue male of their respective body and bodies, the elder of such son and sons, and their issue male to take and be preferred before the younger and their issue; and in default of all such issue, I give and devise the same to my dear daughters, Lady Mahon, and Lady Harriott Pitt, their heirs and assigns, for ever to hold the same in equal moieties, as tenants in common, and not as joint-tenants. And I do hereby will and direct, that all persons, who, by virtue of the limitations of this my Will, shall come into the possession of my real estates hereby devised, shall have power to lease the same, or any part thereof, for any term, not exceeding twenty-one years, so as the usual covenants be contained in such lease, and the full annual rent be received, and no fine taken on granting the same. And I do hereby authorize and empower my said Trustees, and the survivors and survivor of them, and the heirs and assigns of such survivor, at any time or times, after my death, at their will and pleasure, to sell and dispose of all or any part of my real and personal estates before-mentioned; and after paying my debts, legacies, and charges before-mentioned, to invest and lay out the monies produced by such sales in the purchase of other lands and tenements; and till such purchases can be made, I will and direct, that the monies arising by such sale and sales, shall go and be considered as real estates, and be subject to the limitations herein before directed, concerning my said real estate. And I do appoint my said dear wife, Lord Temple, and Lord Camden, Joint Executors of this my Last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former and other Wills by me made. As witness my hand, this twenty-second day of April, 1775.

CHATHAM. (L. S.)

Signed, sealed, published, and declared, as and for the Last Will and Testament of William Earl of Chatham, before us, who in his presence, and at his request, and in the presence of each other, set our names as Witnesses thereto.

GILES HOMER,
FLACK BRADSHAW,
CHRISTIAN WILLBIER, } Esqrs.

Amongst

Amongst the many great qualities of the Earl of Chatham, he sometimes amused himself with poetry, in which there is no doubt he would have excelled, if more momentous pursuits had not occupied his mind. The following lines were addressed to David Garrick, Esq. when he was on a visit at Mount Edgcumbe.

Verses addressed to David Garrick, Esq. by the Earl of Chatham.

LEAVE, Garrick, the rich landscape, proudly gay,
Docks, forts, and navies, bright'ning all the bay:
To my plain roof repair, primæval seat!
Yet there no wonders your quick eye can meet,
Save, should you deem it wonderful to find,
Ambition cur'd, and an unpassion'd mind;
A statesman without power, and without gall,
Hating no courtiers, happier than them all;
Bow'd to no yoke, nor crouching for applause,
Vot'ry alone to freedom, and the laws.
Herds, flocks, and smiling Ceres deck our plain,
And, interspers'd, an heart-enliv'ning train
Of sportive children frolic o'er the green;
Mean time pure love looks on, and consecrates the scene.
Come, then, immortal spirit of the stage,
Great nature's proxy, glass of ev'ry age!
Come, taste the simple life of Patriarchs old
Who, rich in rural peace, ne'er thought of pomp or gold.

Mr. Garrick's Answer.

WHEN Peleus' son, untaught to yield,
Wrathful forsook the hostile field,
His breast still warm with heav'nly fire,
He tun'd the lay, and swept the lyre.

So Chatham, whose exalted soul
Pervaded and inspir'd the whole,
Where far, by martial glory led,
Britain her sails and banners spread,
Retires (tho' wisdom's God dissuades,)
And seeks repose in rural shades.
Yet thither comes the God confess'd;
Celestial form! a well-known guest.

Nor

Nor slow he moves with solemn air,
 Nor on his brow hangs pensive care;
 Nor in his hand th' historic page
 Gives lessons to experienc'd age,
 As when in vengeful ire he rose,
 And plann'd the fate of Britain's foes,
 While the wing'd hours obedient stand,
 And instant speed the dread command.

Chearful he came, all blythe and gay,
 Fair blooming like the son of May,
 Adown his radiant shoulder hung
 A harp, by all the Muses strung:
 Smiling he to his friend resign'd
 This soother of the human mind.

OF LORD CHATHAM'S ELOCUTION.

(WRITTEN IN 1779.)

OF all the characteristic features, by which his oratory was distinguished, none was more eminent than the bold purity and classical force of phraseology.

Those who have been witnesses to the wonders of his eloquence—who have listened to the music of his voice, or trembled at its majesty—who have seen the persuasive gracefulness of his action, or have felt its force; those who have caught the flame of eloquence from his eye—who have rejoiced at the glories of his countenance—or shrunk from his frowns,—will remember the resistless power with which he impressed conviction. In these sketches of his original genius, they will read what they have heretofore heard; and their memory will give due action to the picture, by re-figuring to their minds what they have with admiration seen.—But, to those who never heard nor saw this accomplished orator, the utmost effort of imagination will be necessary, to form a just idea of that combination of excellence, which gave perfection to his eloquence:—his elevated aspect, commanding the awe and mute attention of all who beheld him; whilst a certain grace in his manner, conscious of all the dignities of his situation, of the solemn scene he acted in, as well as his own exalted character, seemed to acknowledge and repay the respect he received:—his venerable form, bowed with infirmity and age; but animated by a mind which nothing could subdue:—his spirit shining through him, arming his eye with lightning, and

and cloathing his lips with thunder; or, if milder topics offered, harmonizing his countenance in smiles, and his voice in softness; for the compass of his powers was infinite. As no idea was too vast, no imagination too sublime, for the grandeur and majesty of his manner; so no fancy was too playful, nor any allusion too comic for the ease and gaiety with which he could accommodate to the occasion. But the character of his oratory was dignity: this presided throughout; giving force because securing respect, even to his sallies of pleasantry. This elevated the most familiar language, and gave novelty and grace to the most familiar allusions; so that in his hand, even the crutch became a weapon of oratory*.

This extraordinary personal dignity, supported on the basis of his well-earned fame, at once acquired to his opinions an assent which is slowly given to the argument of other men. His assertions rose into proof; his foresight became prophecy. Besides the general sanction of his character, and the decisive dignity with which he pronounced his sentiments, it was also well known that he carefully cultivated the most authentic channels of intelligence. And it was an additional and just praise to him, that he exerted the great influence of his name, and his other opportunities, to investigate the purest sources of political information. But, as the activity of his public zeal, stimulated him to such exertion; so the superiority of his genius directed him to higher sources. For other men, even the mechanical medium of official knowledge is a sphere too laborious. Though Lord Chatham's duty did not disdain, his spirit soared above such little adventitious advantages: His was intelligence in a truer sense, and from the noblest source;—"from his own sagacious mind†."—His intuition, like faith, seemed superior to the common forms of reasoning. No clue was necessary to the labyrinth illuminated by his genius. Truth came forth at his bidding, and realised the wish of the philosopher—she was seen and beloved.

ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

(WRITTEN BY MR. WILKES.)

HE was born an orator, and from nature possessed every outward requisite to bespeak respect, and even awe. A manly figure, with the eagle eye of the famous Condé, fixed your attention, and almost commanded reverence the moment he appeared; and the keen lightnings of his eye spoke the high spirit of his soul, before his lips had pronounced a syllable. There was a kind of fascination

* *Tantum Oratoris, Cic.*—"You talk, my Lords, of conquering America—of your numerous friends there, to annihilate the Congress—and your powerful forces to disperse her army:—I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch."—Lord CHATHAM.

† He is his own best expositor. See his speech on the papers relative to Falkland's island, in 1770. "Let them not screen themselves behind the want of intelligence." *Vide Chap. 39.*

in his look when he eyed any one askance. Nothing could withstand the force of that contagion. The fluent Murray* has faltered, and even Fox† shrunk back appalled from an adversary "fraught with fire unquenchable;" if I may borrow the expression of our great Milton. He had not the correctness of language so striking in the great Roman orator, but he had the *verba ardentia*, the bold glowing words.

EULOGIES.

THE glories of Mr. Pitt's first administration are the successes of the war conducted under his auspices, accomplished by the wisdom of his plans, and the intrepidity inspired by his spirit. They will shine in the annals of England beyond the lustre of former ages. They will be eternal monuments of his amazing genius, resolution, and sagacity. They will prove him not only the boldest, but the wisest minister England ever saw. To enumerate the objects of our praise, would be to recapitulate the transactions of his administration. Such a recapitulation is here attempted; but in a manner so inadequate to the theme, that the work must derive its only merit from its subject. Mr. Pitt's best historical eulogium will be the plainest truth; nor can faction or artifice fully the lustre of his eminent services. A whole people are neither to be bribed, nor imposed upon. Envy may revile, and self-interest may seek to blacken; but his fame, in spite of every effort to blast it, in spite of all the assaults of low and little minds, will flourish while this kingdom or its language shall endure. He raised the power and grandeur of England to the highest summit of glory and respect; he confounded and defeated her enemies in every quarter of the world: he strictly adhered to the letter of her engagements abroad, and he effected and preserved unanimity at home. The people daily testify their high sense of his many eminent services, and distinguish his memory with an affection that does honour to their gratitude.

By the war carried on during his administration, we gained all the French settlements and towns on the continent in the East Indies; Senegal and Goree in Africa; Cape Breton and St. John's, by which we extirpated the French from the fishery; all Canada, Guadaloupe, Martinico, Marigalante, Desirade, and the neutral islands, in America; baffled the mighty efforts of France in Europe; insulted and stripped her coasts; burned her shipping; ruined her navy, by repeated victories; blocked up her harbours; almost annihilated her trade; took

* Lord Mansfield.

† Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland.

Belelisse;

Belleisle; and reduced her to bankruptcy. By the peace which succeeded these most glorious conquests, we restored every thing in the East Indies; Goree in Africa; granted the French an almost unlimited fishery in America; and for the loss of Cape Breton and St. John's, which were dismantled, we gave them the islands of St. Peter and Miquelon, which another French King may fortify at pleasure; we restored also Belleisle, Guadaloupe, Martinico, Mariegalante, and Desirade, together with St. Lucia, the only valuable neutral island. Other conquests were made in consequence of his plans, and they were restored also. Could our enemies have required more? Ought they to have hoped for so much?—What, then, did England gain by the honesty, the vigilance and wisdom of Mr. PITT; the expence of many millions, and the loss of so many thousands of brave men?—Canada, an almost barren province; Florida, a sandy desert; Senegal, which, without Goree, does not in the least injure the French slave trade; three of the neutral islands, which are scarce worth our peopling; Grenada, which is too unwholesome to live in; and the Grenadines, which no nation ever thought worth possessing. “O may the conditions of such a peace, be engraved on the tomb-stones of its advisers*.”

When Mr. Pitt had reduced the French to their last resource: and had obliged them to seek refuge in the assistance of another state†; when by his masterly penetration, he discovered the joint design‡, and would have effectually frustrated it by a timely and vigorous exertion of our national power, he was opposed in so salutary and necessary a measure. Events soon justified the councils which he gave. But as he had no other motive than the welfare of his country, and finding he could not promote that by such measures as he was convinced were right, he struggled not for a continuance of employment, but immediately resigned.

CHARACTER OF MR. PITT.

THE Secretary stood alone. Modern degeneracy had not reached him. Original, and unaccommodating; the features of his character had the hardihood of antiquity. His august mind over-awed Majesty, one of his Sovereigns thought royalty so impaired in his presence, that he conspired to remove him, in order to be relieved from his superiority§. No state chicanery, no narrow

* Alluding to Lord Bute's words in the House of Lords, on the day that the preliminary articles of peace were debated; when he said he wished to have no greater eulogium engraved upon his tomb, than having advised those terms of peace.

† Spain.

‡ The Family Compact.

§ Not George the Second.

system of vicious politics, no idle contest for ministerial victories, sunk him to the vulgar level of the great; but overbearing, persuasive, and impracticable: his object was England—his ambition was fame. Without dividing, he destroyed party; without corrupting, he made a venal age unanimous. France sunk beneath him. With one hand he smote the House of Bourbon, and wielded in the other the democracy of England. The flight of his mind was infinite, and his schemes were to affect, not England, not the present age only, but Europe and posterity. Wonderful were the means by which these schemes were accomplished; always seasonable, always adequate; the suggestions of an understanding, animated by ardour, and enlightened by prophecy.

The ordinary feelings which make life amiable and indolent, those sensations which soften and allure and vulgarize, were unknown to him: no domestic difficulties, no domestic weakness reached him; but aloof from the sordid occurrences of life, and unsullied by its intercourse, he came occasionally into our system, to counsel and decide.

A character so exalted, so strenuous, so various, so authoritative, astonished a corrupt age, and the Treasury trembled at the name of Pitt, through all her classes of venality. Corruption imagined, indeed, that she had found defects in this statesman, and talked much of the inconsistency of his glory, and much of the ruin of his victories; but the history of his country, and the calamities of the enemy, answered and refuted her.

Nor were his political abilities his only talents. His eloquence was an æra in the senate; peculiar and spontaneous, familiarly expressing gigantic sentiments and instinctive wisdom; not like the torrent of Demosthenes, or the splendid conflagration of Tully; it resembled sometimes the thunder, and sometimes the music of the spheres. Like Murray, he did not conduct the understanding through the painful subtilty of argumentation; nor was he like Townshend, for ever on the rack of exertion; but rather lightened upon the subject, and reached the point by the flushings of his mind, which, like those of his eye, were felt, but could not be followed.

Upon the whole, there was in this man something that could create, subvert, or reform; an understanding, a spirit, and an eloquence to summon mankind to society, or to break the bonds of slavery asunder; and to rule the wilderness of free minds, with unbounded authority: Something that would establish or overwhelm empire, and strike a blow in the world, that should resound through its universe.

A N O T H E R.

HE raised himself to the greatest offices of the state by the rare talent of command in a popular assembly. He was indeed born an orator, and from nature possessed every outward requisite to bespeak respect, and even awe. A manly figure.

figure, with the eagle face of the famous Condé, fixed your attention, and almost commanded reverence, the moment he appeared; and the keen lightnings of his eye spoke the soul, before his lips had pronounced a syllable. There was a kind of fascination in his look. Nothing could withstand the force of that contagion. The fluent Murray has faltered, and even Fox shrunk back appalled from an adversary fraught with fire unquenchable, if I may borrow the expression of our great Milton. He cultivated the art of speaking with intense care and application. He had not the correctness of language, so striking in the great Roman orator, but he had the *verba oratoria*, the bold, glowing words.

A N O T H E R.

THIS great statesman, whose political abilities were known to all the world, and which not only saved, but aggrandized his own country; was the younger brother of an honourable family, his whole fortune being but an annuity of one hundred pounds per year. With this pittance he looked to the army for his profession, and a cornetcy of horse was his first and only commission in it. Thus unassisted by favour or by fortune, he had no powerful protector to introduce him into business, or, to use Lord Chesterfield's happy expression, *to do the honour of his parts*; but their own strength was fully sufficient.

His constitution refused him the usual pleasures, and his genius forbid him the idle dissipations of youth, for so early as at the age of sixteen, he was the martyr of an hereditary gout. He therefore employed the leisure which that tedious and painful distemper either procured or allowed him, in acquiring a great fund of premature and useful knowledge. Thus by the unaccountable relation of causes and effects, what seemed the greatest misfortune of his life, was perhaps the principal cause of its splendour.

He came very young into parliament, and upon that great theatre soon equalled the oldest and the ablest actors. His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative as well as in the declamatory way. But his invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy and diction, and such dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him. Their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant which his genius gained over theirs.

In that assembly, where public good is so much talked, and private interest singly pursued, he set out with acting the patriot, and performed that part so ably, that he was adopted by the public as their chief, or rather their only unsuspected champion.

It is not the intention of the writer of this sketch, to obtrude upon the public a regular series of those high offices and honours he enjoyed, in consequence of his great abilities and integrity; they are circumstances too recent in point of time to need a repetition, and they are too indelibly graven upon the hearts of Englishman.

lishmen to forget; indeed, if they wanted any foil, the ignorance and blunders of his successors in office would set them in the most exalted light. Be it sufficient then to say generally, that the weight of his popularity, and his universally acknowledged abilities, forced him upon the late King, to whom, at one time, he was personally obnoxious, but whom he soon found to be his most faithful, and able servant, and his country's surest friend.

In the high offices of Secretary of State, and Prime Minister, we for once behold a man, whose every action was so glorious, disinterested, and successful, as to silence a great share of that envy which commonly attends it. His contempt of money, in a great measure, effected this; for though most men think they have an equal natural right to riches, and equal abilities to make a proper use of them, not very many of them have the impudence to think themselves qualified for power.

His private life was stained by no vice, or sullied by any meanness; all his sentiments were liberal and elevated; his ruling passion was an unbounded ambition, (and happy for this country it was so) for that alone, supported by great abilities, and great integrity, could make him what he was.

A N O T H E R.

WE shall, for ages, revere the memory of a minister, who never had his equal, in the opinion of the nation, for wisdom and integrity. He kept no levees: he admitted no trifling company: he was embarrassed by no private connections, nor engaged in any intrigue: he never abused his power, by preferring an undeserving person, and was exceedingly scrupulous how he received recommendations: he despised those idle claims of rank and seniority, when they were not supported by services, which alone could entitle them to public trust: he confided in ability and worth wherever he found them, without any regard to wealth, family, parliamentary interest, or connection.—He was punctual in his office, and such was his attention to business, that the most minute occurrences passed not without his examination. During his administration, the faith of Great Britain was held inviolably sacred. Under his administration, all parties united for the common good, because all parties placed the utmost confidence in his abilities and integrity. The distinction of court and country parties, was dissolved in unanimity. A respectable militia was established; the natural strength of the nation was exerted by sea and land; the terrors of an invasion were removed; the British arms triumphed in every quarter of the globe; trade and navigation were promoted and protected, and France was completely humbled. Conscious of his own virtue, he never sought to conceal any part of his conduct; but, on the contrary, was always ready and forward to lay all his measures before the public. He observed such strict secrecy, that, during the whole of his administration, he gave no opportunity to the most penetrating, of discovering his designs to the enemy. He was a warm friend to constitutional liberty, civil and religious.

CHARACTER

CHARACTER OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM,

BY THE LATE KING OF PRUSSIA.

(From his Posthumous Works, Vol. III.)

IN the autumn of 1757, a change had been effected in the British ministry; Mr. Fox was succeeded by Mr. Pitt, whose lofty genius and persuasive eloquence rendered him the idol of the nation. He had the best understanding of any man in England. His superior talents had subdued the House of Commons; and when raised to the helm of affairs, he applied the whole vigour of his mind to render his country sovereign of the seas, without neglecting the measures which might retrieve her glory by land. The treaty which the Duke of Cumberland had entered into at Closter-Seven, he regarded with indignation, and considered as the reproach of England. The first measures which he adopted in the administration tended to destroy even the remembrance of that infamous negotiation. He persuaded the King his master to request Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick from the King of Prussia, and to set that General at the head of the Allies. By his advice, King George augmented his army in Germany, and entered into new engagements with the King of Prussia, and other Princes of that country. And the happy consequences of Mr. Pitt's measures were soon experienced in Germany, in America, and in every part of the world.

CHARACTER OF MR. PITT.

BY THE ABBE RAYNAL.

(From L'Histoire Philosophique & Politique.)

WILLIAM PITT, the favourite of the three kingdoms from his youth, for his integrity, his disinterestedness, his zeal against corruption, his inviolable attachment to the interests of his country, had a passion for great things, was possessed of an eloquence that was irresistible, and a genius that was at once enterprising and steady. His ambition was to raise his country above all the world, and himself along with her. Till the administration of Mr. Pitt, all the enterprizes of his nation in distant countries were unfortunate; and they could not be otherwise, because they were ill-concerted. But his projects were formed with such wisdom and utility; his preparations were made with such forecast and expedition; he so justly proportioned the means to the end; he made so wise a choice of those in whom he was to repose a confidence; he established such harmony between the land and sea service; in short, he raised the heart of England so high, that his

his administration was nothing but a chain of conquests. His soul, still greater, looked down with contempt upon the idle clamours of those timid spirits, who charged him with squandering the public money. He answered in the words of Philip, the father of Alexander: "Victory must be purchased with money, not money saved at the expence of victory."

Speaking of Mr. Pitt's resignation, he says, "Whatever was the cause of his retreat, nothing but the blindest, most unjust, and violent enmity can assert, that he owed more to fortune than to his talents and his virtue."

A N O T H E R.

(BY MR. BURKE.)

LORD CHATHAM. A great and celebrated name; a name that keeps the name of this country respectable in every other on the globe. It may be truly called,

— *Clarum et venerabile nomen*
Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi.

Sir, the venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills in the eye of mankind; and, more than all the rest, his fall from power, which, like death, canonizes and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his conduct. I am afraid to flatter him; I am sure I am not disposed to blame him. Let those who have betrayed him by their adulation, insult him with their malevolence. But what I do not presume to censure, I may have leave to lament. For a wise man, he seemed to me at that time, to be governed too much by general maxims. I speak with the freedom of history, and I hope without offence. One or two of these maxims, flowing from an opinion not the most indulgent to our unhappy species, and surely a little too general, led him into measures that were greatly mischievous to himself; and for that reason, among others, perhaps fatal to his country; measures, the effects of which, I am afraid, are for ever incurable. He made an administration*, so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery, so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified Mosaic; such a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, kings, friends, and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies: that it was indeed a very curious show; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards, stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, "Sir, your name?—Sir, you have the advantage of me—Mr. Such-a-one

* In 1766.

—I beg a thousand pardons—” I venture to say, it did so happen, that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoke to each other in their lives; until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed *.

Sir, in consequence of this arrangement, having put so much the larger part of his enemies and opposers into power, the confusion was such, that his own principles could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were sure to predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to stand upon. When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a minister.

When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. The gentlemen, his particular friends, who, with the names of various departments of ministry, were admitted, to seem, as if they acted a part under him, with a modesty that becomes all men, and with a confidence in him, which was justified even in its extravagance by his superior abilities, had never, in any instance, presumed upon any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the sport of every gust, and easily driven into any port; and as those who joined with them in manning the vessel were the most directly opposite to his opinions, measures, and character, and far the most artful and powerful of the set, they easily prevailed, so as to seize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends; and instantly they turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy. As if it were to insult as well as to betray him, even long before the close of the first session of his administration, when every thing was publicly transacted, and with great parade in his name, they made an act, declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America. For even then, Sir, even before this splendid orb was entirely set, and while the Western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and, for this hour, became lord of the ascendant †.

ANOTHER.

(BY LORD CHESTERFIELD.)

MR. PITT owed his rise to the most considerable posts and power in this kingdom singly to his own abilities. In him they supplied the want of birth and fortune, which latter, in others, too often supply the want of the former. He

* Supposed to allude to the Right Hon. Lord North, and George Cooke, Esq. who were made joint paymasters in the summer of 1766, on the removals of the Rockingham administration.

† Charles Townshend.

was a younger brother of a very new family, and his fortune was only an annuity of one hundred pounds a year.

The army was his original destination, and a cornetcy of horse his first and only commission in it. Thus unassisted by favour or fortune, he had no powerful protector to introduce him into business, and (if I may use that expression) to do the honours of his parts—but their own strength was fully sufficient.

His constitution refused him the usual pleasures, and his genius forbid him the idle dissipations, of youth; for so early as at the age of sixteen he was the martyr of an hereditary gout. He, therefore, employed the leisure which that tedious and painful distemper, either procured or allowed him in acquiring a great fund of premature and useful knowledge*. Thus by the unaccountable relation of causes and effects what seemed the greatest misfortune of his life was, perhaps, the principal cause of its splendour.

His private life was stained by no vice, nor sullied by any meanness. All his sentiments were liberal and elevated. His ruling passion was an unbounded ambition, which, when supported by great abilities, and crowned with great success, make what the world calls a Great Man.

He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and overbearing—qualities which too often accompany, but always clog, great ones.

He had manners and address—but one might discern through them too great a consciousness of his own superior talents.

He was a most agreeable and lively companion in social life, and had such a versatility of wit, that he would adopt it to all sorts of conversation. He had also a most happy turn to poetry; but he seldom indulged and seldom avowed it.

He came young into Parliament, and upon that great theatre he soon equalled the oldest and the ablest actors†. His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative, as well as in the declamatory way. But his invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and such dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him‡. Their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant which his genius gained over their's§.

* Notwithstanding this insinuation, it is well known, Mr. Pitt when a boy at Eton, was the pride and boast of the school. Dean Bland, the master, valued himself upon having so bright a scholar. The old man shewed him to his friends, and to every body, as a prodigy.

† It is said, that Sir Robert Walpole scarce heard the sound of his voice in the House of Commons, but he was alarmed and thunderstruck; he told his friends, that he would be glad at any rate to muzzle that terrible cornet of horse. The minister would have promoted his rise in the army, provided he would have given up his seat in Parliament.

‡ Hume-Campbell and Lord Mansfield.

§ Demosthenes was his great model in speaking; and we are told, that he translated some of his orations, by way of exercise, several times over. But though he was delighted with the manner of this orator, who united a wonderful power of expression to the most forcible method of reasoning, yet he was equally master of the pleasing, diffuse, and passionate style of the Roman orator.

In that Assembly, where public good is much talked of, and private interest singly pursued, he set out with acting the patriot, and performed that part so ably, that he was adopted by the public as their chief, or rather their only unsuspected, champion.

The weight of his popularity, and his universally acknowledged abilities, obtruded him upon George the Second, to whom he was personally obnoxious. He was made Secretary of State. In this difficult and delicate situation, which one would have thought, must have reduced either the patriot, or the minister, to a decisive option, he managed with such ability, that while he served the King more effectually in his most unwarrantable electoral views than any former minister, however willing, had dared to do, he still preserved all his credit and popularity with the public, whom he assured and convinced, that the protection and defence of Hanover with an army of seventy-five thousand men in British pay, was the only possible method of securing our possessions or acquisitions in North America—So much easier is it to deceive than to undeceive mankind.

His own disinterestedness, and even contempt of money, smoothed his way to power, and prevented, or silenced a great share of that envy which commonly attends it. Most men think, that they have an equal natural right to riches, and equal abilities to make a proper use of them, but not very many of them have the impudence to think themselves qualified for power.

Upon the whole, he will make a great and shining figure in the annals of this country; notwithstanding the blot which his acceptance of three thousand pounds per annum pension, for three lives, upon his voluntary resignation of the Seals, in the first year of the present King, must make in his character, especially as to the disinterested part of it.—However, it must be acknowledged, that he had those qualities which none but a great man can have, with a mixture of those failings, which are the common lot of wretched and imperfect human nature.

A FEW LINES BY JUNIUS.

(First published on the 15th of August, 1771.)

I DID not intend to make a public declaration of the respect I bear Lord Chatham. But I am called upon [by the Rev. Mr. Horne] to give my opinion. As for the common sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of Junius would be of service to Lord Chatham. My vote will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or to a seat in the cabinet. But if his ambition be upon a level with his understanding;—if he judges of what is truly honourable for himself, with the same superior genius, which animates and directs him, to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of Junius shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honours shall gather round his monument, and thicken over him.

It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it.—I am not conversant in the language of panegyric—These praises are extorted from me; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned.

EXTRACTS FROM THE NORTH BRITON.

(Ascribed to Mr. Wilkes) July 24, 1762.

“MERIT alone brought Mr. Pitt into the Ministry; merit alone kept him there. He was determined to come into no ministerial jobs: He spoke his mind freely on every occasion; when convinced, he was always ready to change his opinion, and alter his measures; but had the impudence to expect conviction before he did it. He never was afraid to bring the voice of the people to the ear of the Sovereign. He was always ready and forward to lay his own measures before the public. He was of such unshaken secrecy, that during the whole course of his ministry, he gave no opportunity to the most willing of discovering our designs to the enemy. He was of such unpardonable attention to business, that the most minute occurrences of his department passed not without examination. He was such a bigot to the interests of the public, that no private connections whatever, could induce him to prefer an undeserving person. He was of such unbounded ambition, that he raised the honour of the English name to a much greater height than any of his predecessors. He was so extravagantly opposite to the measures usually adopted on such occasions, that he was foolishly resolved not to give up in treaty what we had gained in war. He was so immoderate in his demands, that our enemies saw through them with a just indignation, and were convinced he would make a good peace, or none at all. He was so jealous of his ministerial reputation, and so envious of those who should succeed him, that, in order to prevent their doing of any thing, he left them little or nothing to do.”

Again, Nov. 20, 1762.

“Another copious source of calumny on Mr. Pitt has been the pretended desertion of the public at the most critical period. I did not expect to have seen this urged, after the great part Mr. Pitt acted through the last session of parliament. How nobly did he support the cause of his country? Did he at any one moment endeavour to sow the seeds of discord, or to kindle the least spark of faction? His zeal for the public, his firmness, spirit, and moderation were no less admired, than the solid wisdom, deep policy, and heroic magnanimity, of his councils. His very enemies bear testimony to his patriotism and greatness of soul, under all provocations of petulant, illiberal abuse, and on the most trying occasions. I have the satisfaction of hoping, that through the next most important session, the public will reap the benefit of the clearest head, and the most upright heart.

“Th

"The last topic of abuse I shall now mention is, the late Minister's dictating to, and magisterially controuling, all the other servants of the crown, and all public offices. I never heard any proof offered of this, but the single word Guide, in a letter to a friend. It is not even pretended, that he ever imposed any one creature or dependant on the Board of Treasury, Admiralty, &c. or paid any low sycophant by places in the Excise or Customs."

Jan. 1, 1763.—"Mr. Pitt alone seems to possess that great political virtue of governing kingdoms to their own satisfaction. This is peculiar to Mr. Pitt, that the palm of virtue and ability was readily yielded to him by every man of every party. Mr. Pitt never fails to persuade, to awaken, to rouse the passions, and to gain them over to the side of truth and virtue. Mr. Pitt seems to feel the most sincere benevolence and disposition to do good. As that is the most firm and vigorous mind, which is not elated with prosperity, nor dejected in adversity, in this respect the virtue of Mr. Pitt appears compleat."

"Mr. Pitt was for many years the admiration of all his fellow-citizens: on a sudden the wicked arts, and false suggestions of a few malevolent and envious men, for a short time obscured his fame, and eclipsed his glory; but his conduct was the same; modesty, calm sense, and dignity attended him. Mr. Pitt has generosity and spirit, is abstemious, temperate, and regular; and by the most manly sense and fine sallies of a sportive imagination, can charm the whole day; and as the Greek said, his entertainments please the day after they are given."

Another copious source of calumny on Mr. Pitt has been the pretended detection of the public at the most critical period. I did not expect to have seen this urged, after the great part Mr. Pitt acted through the last session of parliament. How nobly did he support the cause of his country? Did he at any one moment endeavour to sow the seeds of discord, or to kindle the spark of faction? His zeal for the public, his firmness, spirit, and moderation were no less admired, than the solid wisdom, deep policy, and heroic magnanimity of his councils. His very enemies bear testimony to his patriotism and greatness of soul, under all provocations of petulant, illiberal abuse, and on the most trying occasions. I have the satisfaction of hoping, that through the next most important session, the public will reap the benefit of the clearest head, and the most upright heart.

On Mr. Pitt's resigning the Seals in 1761.

NE'ER yet in vain, did Heaven its omens send,
Some dreadful ills unusual signs portend!
When Pitt resign'd, a nation's tears will own,
Then fell the brightest jewel in the crown*.

Walton.

R. BROWNE.

The following Lines were written by David Garrick, Esq †.

SHALL Chatham die, and be forgot?—O! no,
Warm from its source, let grateful sorrow flow;
His matchless ardour fir'd each fear-struck mind,
His genius soar'd, when Britons droop'd and pin'd;
Whilst each *State Atlas* sunk beneath the load,
His heart, unhook, with patriot virtue glow'd;
Like Hercules, he free'd them from the weight,
And on his shoulders fix'd the tottering state;
His strength the monsters of the land defy'd,
To raise his country's glory was his pride,
And for her service, as he liv'd, he dy'd.
O! for his pow'rs, those feelings to impart,
Which rous'd to action every drooping heart.

* Alluding to the largest jewel falling out of the King's crown at his coronation.—Subsequent interpreters, however, have said this was ominous of the loss of America, and other dominions, which places belonged to the British crown, at the time of his coronation.

† In the prologue to *Bonduca*.

Inscription

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Inscription on the first Stone of Black Friars Bridge.

Ultimo die Octobris, anno ab incarnatione
MDCCLX,
auspiciatissimo principe GEORGIO Tertio
regnum jam ineunte,
Pontis hujus, in reipublicæ commodum
urbisq; majestatem,
(Latè tum flagrante bello)
à S. P. Q. L. suscepti,
Primum Lapidem posuit
THOMAS CHITTY, Miles,
Prætor:
ROBERTO MYLNE, Architecto,
Utque apud posteros extet monumentum
voluntatis suæ erga virum,
qui vigore ingenii, animi constantiâ,
probitatis & virtutis suæ felici quadam contagione,
(favente Deo
faustisque GEORGII Secundi auspiciis)
Imperium Britannicum
in Asiâ, Africâ, & Americâ,
restituit, auxit, & stabilivit,
Nec non patriæ antiquum honorem & auctoritatem
inter Europe gentes instauravit;
Civis Londinenses, uno consensu,
Huic Ponti inscribi voluerunt nomen
GULIELMI PITT.

[*English'd thus:*]

On the last day of October, in the year 1760,
and in the beginning of the most auspicious
reign of GEORGE the Third,
Sir THOMAS CHITTY, Knight, Lord Mayor,
laid the first stone of this Bridge,
Undertaken by the Common Council of London
(amidst the rage of an extensive war)
for the public accommodation,
and ornament of the city:

ROBERT

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ROBERT MYLNE being the architect.
And that there might remain to posterity
a monument of this City's affection to the Man,
who, by the strength of his genius,
the steadiness of his mind,
and a certain kind of happy contagion of his
probity and spirit,
(under the Divine favour,
and fortunate auspices of GEORGE the Second)
recovered, augmented, and secured,
the British Empire,
in Asia, Africa, and America,
And restored the antient reputation
and influence of his country
amongst the nations of Europe:
The Citizens of London have unanimously voted
this Bridge to be inscribed with the name of
WILLIAM PITT.

A LIST

A LIST of the General CHANGES of the MINISTRY, from the Year 1742 to the End of the Reign of GEORGE the Second, distinguishing each Administration.

Offices and Places.	Sir Robert Walpole's Ministry, as it stood when he resigned in February 1742.	Lord Bath's Ministry, appointed in February 1742.	The Broad Bottom Ministry, November 1744.	Mr. Pelham's Ministry, February 1746.	Duke of Newcastle's Ministry, March 1754.	Mr. Pitt's First Ministry, December 1756.	Mr. Pitt's Second Ministry, or Coalition of Parties, June 1757.
Lord Chancellor	Lord Hardwicke	continued	continued	continued	continued	In commission	Lord Northampton
Lord President	Lord Wilmington	Lord Harrington	Duke of Dorset	Lord Granville	continued	continued	continued
Lord Privy Seal	Lord Hervey	Lord Cholmondeley	Lord Gower	continued	Duke of Marlborough	Lord Gower	Lord Temple
Lord Chamberlain	Duke of Grafton	continued	continued	continued	continued	continued	Duke of Devonshire
Groom of the Stole	Lord Pembroke	continued	continued	Lord Albemarle	Lord Rochford	continued	continued
Lord Steward	Duke of Dorset	continued	Duke of Devonshire	Duke of Marlborough	Duke of Rutland	continued	continued
Treasurer of the Household	Lord Fitzwalter	continued	continued	continued	Lord Berkeley, of Stratton	Lord Bateman	Lord Thomond
Comptroller	Sir Conyers d'Arcy	continued	continued	continued	Lord Hillborough	Lord Edgcumbe	continued
Cofferer	Sir W. Yonge	continued	Edm. Waller	Lord Lincoln	Duke of Leeds	continued	continued
Treasurer of Chamber	Lord Hobart	continued	Sir J. H. Cotton	Hon. R. Arundel	continued	C. Towhead	continued
Master of Horse	Duke of Richmond	continued	continued	Lord Harrington in 1751	Duke of Dorset	continued	Lord Gower
Captain of Yeomen of Guard	Earl of Essex	Lord Berkeley, of Stratton	continued	Lord Falmouth	continued	continued	continued
Captain of Band of Pensioners	Duke of Bolton	Lord Bathurst	Lord Hobart	continued	continued	Lord Berkeley, of Stratton	continued
First Lord of the Treasury	Sir Robert Walpole	Lord Wilmington	Mr. Pelham	continued	Duke of Newcastle	Duke of Devonshire	Duke of Newcastle
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Ditto	S. Sandys	Ditto	continued	H. B. Legge	H. B. Legge	H. B. Legge
	T. Winnington	Hon. G. Compton	Lord Middlesex	G. Grenville	Lord Darlington	Lord Duncannon	continued
Lords of the Treasury	G. Earle	Sir J. Rushout	H. Fox	H. B. Legge	Lord Dupplin	James Grenville	continued
	G. Treby	Philip Gibbons	Hon. R. Arundel	J. Campbell	Robert Nugent	continued	continued
	T. Clutterbuck		G. Lyttelton	continued			
First Lord of the Admiralty	Sir C. Wager	Lord Winchelsea	Duke of Bedford	continued	Lord Anson	Lord Temple	Lord Anson
	Sir T. Frankland	John Cockburn	Lord Sandwich	continued	Welbore Ellis	John Pitt	Hon. J. Forbes
	Lord Harry Powlett	Lord A. Hamilton	continued	Lord Barrington	continued	Dr. Geo. Hay	continued
	J. Campbell	Lord Baltimore	continued	Lord Duncannon	continued	T. O. Hunter	continued
Lords of the Admiralty	Lord V. Beauclerk	Philip Cavendish	Lord V. Beauclerk	continued	Hon. T. Villiers	Gilbert Elliot	continued
	Lord Glenorchy	Dr. G. Lee	George Anson	continued	Sir W. Rowley	Temple West	continued
	Edward Thompson	Hon. J. Trevor	George Grenville	continued	Hon. Edw. Boscawen	continued	continued
Secretaries of State*	Duke of Newcastle	continued	continued	continued	Sir Tho. Robinson	Mr. Pitt	Mr. Pitt
Chancellor of Duchy	Lord Harrington	Lord Carteret	Lord Harrington	continued	Lord Holderness	continued	continued
Chief Justices in Eyre	Lord Cholmondeley	Lord Edgcumbe	continued	continued	continued	continued	Lord Kinnoul
	Duke of Ancafter	Lord Cardigan	continued	Duke of Leeds in 1748	Duke of Somerset in 1752	continued	Lord Edgcumbe
	Lord Jerley	continued	continued	Lord Halifax	Lord Sandys	Lord Breadalbane	continued
Postmasters	Lord Leicester	continued	continued	continued	continued	continued	continued
	Sir J. Eyles	continued	Sir W. Fawkenor	continued	continued	continued	continued
Master of Ordnance	Duke of Montagu	continued	continued	continued	Duke of Marlborough	continued	Lord Ligonier
Secretary at War	Sir W. Yonge	continued	continued	Henry Fox	continued	continued	continued
Paymaster	Mr. Pelham	T. Winnington	continued	Mr. Pitt	continued	T. Potter	Henry Fox
Treasurer of the Navy	Arthur Onslow	T. Clutterbuck	Lord Melcombe	continued	George Grenville	continued	continued
First Lord of Trade	Lord Monson	continued	continued	continued	Lord Halifax	continued	continued
	T. Pelham	Hon. R. Herbert	continued	James Grenville	continued	W. G. Hamilton	continued
	Martin Bladen	continued	continued	continued	continued	Soame Jenyns	continued
Lords of Trade	Edward Ashe	continued	continued	continued	Andrew Stone	continued	continued
	Sir Or. Bridgman	Sir C. Gilmour	Sir John Phillips	B. L. Gower	James Oswald	continued	continued
	Sir Archer Croft	B. Keene	continued	continued	Lord Edgcumbe	Richard Rigby	continued
	Hon. Ja. Brudenell	continued	John Pitt	continued	continued	W. Sloper	continued
	Richard Plumer	continued	continued	continued	T. Pelham	continued	continued
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	Duke of Devonshire		Lord Chesterfield	Lord Harrington	M. of Harrington in 1755	Duke of Bedford	continued
	Lord Sunderland (for life)	continued			Lord Sandwich	continued	continued
Vice Treasurers	Lord Torrington	continued		Lord Cholmondeley	continued	continued	Tho. Potter
	Lord Edgcumbe	Harry Vane		Sir W. Yonge	Welbore Ellis†	continued	continued

* Until the Year 1746 there was always a Secretary of State appointed for Scotland, probably in compliment to the Union, like Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, and other sinecure offices, which are still preserved. But the office of Secretary of State for Scotland, it is generally believed, was discontinued upon a suspicion that some person in the office held a correspondence with the Scottish rebels in the year 1745. In order to effect a discovery of this correspondence, the northern mails were robbed two or three times. Some very suspicious letters were found, written in cypher; but the friends of Government had not the cypher, nor could they obtain it from any person in the office. It is singular, that as soon as Lord Bute got into power, upon the accession of George III. Mr. Henry Potts, who had been Secretary of the Post-Office many years without reproach, was immediately turned out.—The mails are seldom robbed by thieves, at the eve of a war. This felony is commonly committed by some confidant in the employ of Government, with a view to obtain a knowledge of some correspondence, for which the dispatch of office does not always afford sufficient opportunity: although the opening of particular letters is a notorious practice. Upon an alteration in the system of Government in the year 1768, the idea of a third Secretary of State was revived; and the office was appointed for America, with Lord Hillsborough at the head of the department. In 1772 Lord Dartmouth was appointed to this post, who in 1775 was succeeded by Lord George Germaine: he was also First Lord of Trade. But upon the loss of America the office was suppressed. Lord Chatham had, for several years before his death, considered the Board of Trade as little better than a sinecure office. It was one of his essential points to place the affairs of the Colonies in the department of the principal Secretary of State. Mr. Burke seems to have borrowed Lord Chatham's idea in his Bill of Reform, which suppressed the Board of Trade in the year 1782. But more mature deliberation seems to have shewn, that the Board of Trade was not an unuseful school for those young gentlemen and noblemen, who are born to possess the great

offices of State, and whose rank excluding them from an academical tuition in the principles of trade, deprives them of the means of obtaining a rudimental knowledge of the great science of commerce.

† The Duke's Ministry, as it was called, because it had been formed under the auspices of the Duke of Cumberland, was appointed in the month of November 1775; but consisted only of the following alterations from the Duke of Newcastle's Ministry, which had been appointed the year before.

Mr. Fox was made Secretary of State in the room of Sir Thomas Robinson.
Lord Gower was made Lord Privy Seal in the room of the Duke of Marlborough.
Sir George Lyttelton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of Mr. Legge. Lord Thomond and H. Furness, Lords of the Treasury, vice the Lords Darlington and Kinnoul, who were made joint Paymasters in the room of Mr. Pitt.
Lord Bateman was appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty in the room of Lord Barrington, who was made Secretary at War in the room of Mr. Fox. And Lord Edgcumbe was also made a Lord of the Admiralty in the room of Welbore Ellis.
Lord Melcombe was made Treasurer of the Navy in the room of George Grenville.
W. G. Hamilton, J. Talbot, Soame Jenyns, and R. Rigby, Lords of Trade, vice Lord Edgcumbe, Hon. R. Herbert, John Pitt, and James Grenville.

But this substitution of a few persons could scarcely be called another Ministry; for during the short time they were in office there were continual negotiations carrying on, with a view to form another Ministry.

A LIST of the General CHANGES of the MINISTRY, from the Accession of GEORGE the Third to the Commencement of Lord NORTH's Ministry in the Year 1770, including the Nine first Years of the present Reign.

Offices and Places:	Lord Bute's Ministry, May 1762.	Duke of Bedford's Ministry, April 1763.	Lord Rockingham's Ministry, July 1765.	Lord Chatham's Ministry, August 1766.	Duke of Grafton's Ministry, December 1767.	Lord North's Ministry, January 1770.
Lord Chancellor	Lord Northington	continued	continued	Lord Camden	continued	Lord Bathurst
Lord President	Lord Granville	Duke of Bedford	Lord Winchelsea	Lord Northington	Lord Gower	continued
Lord Privy Seal	Duke of Bedford	Duke of Marlborough	Duke of Newcastle	Lord Chatham	Lord Bristol	Duke of Grafton
Lord Chamberlain	Duke of Marlborough	Lord Gower	Duke of Portland	Lord Hertford	continued	continued
Vice Chamberlain	Hon. W. Finch	continued	Lord Villiers	continued	continued	Lord Grantham
Groom of the Stole	Lord Huntingdon	continued	continued	continued	continued	Lord Bristol
Lord Steward	Lord Talbot	continued	continued	continued	continued	continued
Treasurer of the Household	Lord Powis	continued	Lord Edgecumbe	Sir J. Shelley	continued	continued
Comptroller	Lord C. Spencer	continued	T. Pelham	continued	continued	Sir W. Meredith
Cofferer	Lord Thomond	continued	Lord Scarborough	Hans Stanley	continued	continued
Treasurer of Chamber	Sir Gilbert Elliot	continued	continued	continued	continued	Geo. Rice
Master of Horse	Duke of Rutland	continued	continued	Duke of Ancaster	continued	continued
Captain of Yeomen of Guard	Lord Falmouth	continued	continued	continued	continued	continued
Captain of Band of Pensioners	Lord Litchfield	continued	continued	continued	continued	Lord Edgcumbe
First Lord of the Treasury	Lord Bute	Geo. Grenville	Lord Rockingham	Duke of Grafton	continued	Lord North
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Sir Fra. Dashwood	Geo. Grenville	W. Dowdeswell	C. Townshend	Lord North	Lord North
Lords of the Treasury	{ Lord North Ja. Oswald Sir J. Turner	Lord North Sir J. Turner T. O. Hunter Ja. Harris	Lord J. Cavendish Tho. Townshend Geo. Onslow	Pryse Campbell continued continued	continued C. Jenkinson continued	C. Townshend, of Honingham continued continued
First Lord of the Admiralty	{ Lord Halifax Dr. Geo. Hay T. O. Hunter	Lord Egmont continued Lord Carysfort	continued Sir C. Saunders Hon. A. Keppel	Sir E. Hawke Lord Palmerstone continued	continued continued Sir Geo. Yonge	Lord Sandwich continued Lord Lisburne
Lords of the Admiralty	{ Hon. J. Forbes Hans Stanley Lord Villiers Tho. Pelham	Lord Howe continued Lord Digby Thomas Pitt	Cha. Townshend Sir W. Meredith John Buller	continued continued continued	continued continued continued	Adm. Holburne C. J. Fox continued
Secretaries of State	{ Lord Egremont Lord Halifax	Lord Sandwich continued	continued General Conway Duke of Grafton	J. Yorke, afterwards C. Jenkinson Lord Shelburne General Conway	Lord C. Spencer Lord Weymouth Lord Rochford	continued Lord Sandwich, Lord Halifax, &c. Lord Weymouth, Lord Suffolk, &c.
Chancellor of Duchy	{ Lord Strange	continued	continued	continued	continued	Lord Hyde
Chief Justices in Eyre	{ Duke of Leeds Lord Breadalbane	continued	continued	continued	continued	Lord Pelham
Postmasters	{ Lord Trevor	continued	continued	continued	continued	continued
Master of Ordnance	{ Lord Egmont	continued	continued	continued	continued	Lord Carteret
Secretary at War	{ Lord Egonier	Lord Hyde	Lord Besborough	Lord Hillsborough	continued	continued
Paymaster	{ Lord Barrington	Lord Granby	Lord Grantham	Lord le Despencer	continued	Lord Townshend
Treasurer of the Navy	{ Lord Holland	Welbore Ellis	continued	continued	continued	continued
First Lord of Trade	{ Lord Barrington	continued	C. Townshend	Lord North and Geo. Cooke	R. Rigby	continued
Lords of Trade	{ Lord Sandys Soame Jenyns Edw. Eliot Edw. Bacon	Lord Hillsborough continued continued	Lord Howe	continued	continued	Sir Gilbert Elliot
	{ John Yorke Sir Edm. Thomas George Rice	Jerem. Dyfon Bamber Gascoigne continued	Lord Dartmouth continued	Lord Hillsborough	continued	continued
	{ Lord Orwell	continued	continued	continued	continued	continued
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	{ Lord Halifax	Lord Northumberland	John Roberts	Hon. T. Robinson	continued	Lord Greville
	{ Lord Sandwich	Ja. Oswald	continued	Lord Bristol	Lord Townshend	continued
Vice Treasurers	{ Robert Nugent	continued	Lord Geo. Sackville	continued	Isaac Barré	Lord Clare
	{ Richard Rigby	continued	Welbore Ellis	James Grenville continued	continued Rich. Rigby	Lord Cornwallis Welbore Ellis

F I N I S.